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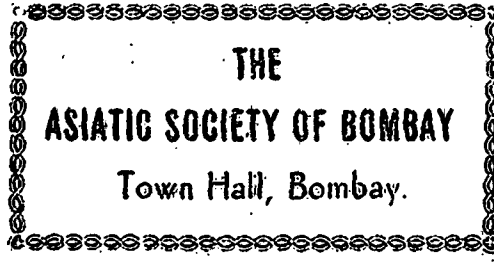

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RESEARCHES

IN

SOUTH AFRICA;

ILLUSTRATING THE

CIVIL, MORAL, AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION

OF

THE NATIVE TRIBES:

INCLUDING

JOURNALS OF THE AUTHOR'S TRAVELS IN THE INTERIOR;

TOGETHER WITH

£4690

DETAILED ACCOUNTS OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONS, EXHIBITING THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY IN PROMOTING CIVILIZATION.

BY

THE REV. JOHN PHILIP, D.D.

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*** At p. 335, vol. i., and p. 90, vol. ii., references are made to the Appendix for two letters which have not been inserted: they have been subsequently withdrawn to make room for documents of more importance.

CONDITION

OF THE

NATIVE TRIBES,

&c., &c.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Bushmen.—Exaggerated reports of their physical and moral deformities.—Evidence of their natural good qualities.—Colonel Collins's report, suggesting means for their improvement.—Commencement of missionary stations at Toverberg and Hephzibah.

DEPRIVE a commercial people of their commerce, and you may drive many of them to piracy; but commerce cannot be destroyed at once: even the conquerors of such a people, however much they may oppress them, must, to a certain extent, be dependent upon them for the supply of their wants; and, if the trade which remains does not furnish sources of wealth, it will still continue to minister the means of subsistence. Under despotism and oppression, the agriculturist loses his stimulus to industry, and the fields that were once crowned with luxuriant crops are seen returning to a state of nature; but an agricultural people, living on a fertile soil, if, by the oppression and tyranny of their rulers, they are deprived of the comforts of life, will still find from their soil a scanty means of subsistence. With a pastoral people the case is different. Deprive

them of their flocks and herds, and you scarcely leave them any alternative but to perish, or to live by robbery. This was the case with many of the Hottentot tribes during the seventeenth century. Driven to desperation by the loss of their cattle, they were occasionally forced by hunger to seize a few sheep or cattle belonging to the colonists. To evade their pursuers, and to have the opportunity of devouring their spoil in peace, they would naturally seek refuge in the most inaccessible places of the mountains; and in this brief sketch will be seen the origin of the Bushmen.

The opinion now advanced on this subject was originally formed from circumstances which came under my own observation during my journies into the interior of South Africa; and it has been since strongly confirmed by the facts elicited during my investigation into the early history of this people. The reader, by referring to Vol. I., page 33, will find the true origin of the Bushmen developed in brief, but forcible terms, by the respectable Dutch magistrate, Sterreberg Kupt. This gentleman explicitly states that, "by the misbehaviour of these vagabonds"—unprincipled aggressors from the colony—"the whole country was ruined;" for the kraals of the Hottentots being plundered by the colonists, the natives were driven by famine to rob other hordes of their own countrymen, and these again their neighbours. Those who betook themselves to this mode of life retreated to fastnesses among the rocks and mountains, whence they issued forth, from time to time, to plunder the Colonists, or such of the native hordes as still possessed cattle. "And thus," says the landdrost Kupt, "*from people living in peace and happiness, divided into kraals under chiefs, and sub-*

sisting quietly by the breeding of cattle, they are become almost all of them huntsmen, Bushmen, and robbers, and are dispersed everywhere, among the barren and rugged mountains."

The same system was continued, as the reader will perceive, by referring to Vol. I., Chapter III., by the "barterers," (as they styled themselves,) who penetrated, from time to time, into the interior of the country. The Hottentot tribe of Horisons, mentioned at page 38, are termed "Bosjesmen" in the original manuscript from which the account of the transactions there briefly stated has been extracted; and the reader may, from that circumstance, form a pretty impartial judgment as to the quarter from which the first and worst aggressions principally proceeded. The account of the commando system,* em-

* Mr. Thomson, when travelling near the Hantam, in 1824, received the following account of the outbreakings of Bushman animosity from an aged Hottentot:—

"An old Hottentot servant of the family accompanied me. This man was between sixty and seventy years of age, and had all his life resided upon the Bushman frontier. I found him communicative, and elicited some interesting information from him. He said he could recollect the time when few or no murders were committed by the Bushmen, especially upon the Christians. The era of bitter and bloody hostility between them commenced, according to his account, about fifty years ago, in the following manner:— The burgher, Coetzee Van Reenen, had an overseer, who kept his flocks near the Zak river; this fellow was of a brutal and insolent disposition, and a great tyrant over the Bushmen; and had shot some of them, at times, out of mere wantonness. The Bushmen submissively endured the oppression of this petty tyrant for a long period; but at length their patience was worn out; and one day, while he was cruelly maltreating one of their nation, another struck him through with his assagai. This act was represented in the

ployed against the native tribes, already given, (see Vol. I., page 41, et seq.) renders it unnecessary to recapitulate here the revolting details of this disgraceful chapter of colonial history. I only request the reflecting reader to retain the facts, there stated on official authority, in his recollection, while we proceed with the more recent history of the degraded and persecuted race of Hottentots now denominated "savage Bushmen."

"Treat men as wild beasts," says a philosophical writer, "and you will make them such; and by joining the ardour of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they will grow every day more untractable, and more dangerous." The vindictive dispositions ascribed to the Bushmen are more owing to their unfortunate circumstances than to anything in their natural character, which distinguishes them from other uncivilized tribes. Driven to desperation by a long series of cruelties, they began to view all persons not belonging to their own tribe as against them; and if men who were formerly

colony as a horrible murder. A strong commando was sent into the Bushman country, and hundreds of innocent people were massacred, to avenge the death of this ruffian. Such treatment roused the animosity of the Bushmen to the utmost pitch, and eradicated all remains of respect which they still retained for the Christians. The commando had scarcely left their country, when the whole race of Bushmen along the frontier simultaneously commenced a system of predatory and murderous incursions against the colonists, from the Kamiesberg to the Stormberg. These depredations were retaliated by fresh commandos, who slew the old without pity, and carried off the young into bondage. The commandos were again avenged by new robberies and murders; and thus mutual injuries have been accumulated, and mutual rancour kept up to the present day."

friends suspect and treat each other as enemies, their former friendship will soon be changed into bitter hostility. It is probable that the savage dispositions of the Bushmen would be at first directed against their immediate oppressors, but, once called into action, and cherished by a state of constant hostility, they would gain a wider sphere of operation, and be incensed against their fellow-creatures in general. This deterioration of character, and the barbarous acts arising out of it, would be attended with loss of good repute; would produce a general combination of other tribes against them, and occasion a powerful reaction; and thus those dispositions, which at first arose out of the oppression to which they were subjected, would be confirmed by the continuance of those circumstances out of which they originally sprung. Such as escaped the bloody scenes which accompanied these murdering expeditions would become the bitter enemies of the colonists. Deprived of their cattle, they must now rob others, or perish for want of the means of subsistence. Self-preservation is the first law of nature; and, in their predatory excursions in quest of food, it is natural to suppose that their first thoughts would be turned towards the colony. Their vengeance would probably, in some instances, fall upon the innocent; the retaliation of the Bushmen would call forth a powerful reaction on the part of the farmers; and the flames of perpetual hostility would continue to rage when it was forgotten by what means they were first kindled. When savage and barbarous tribes are oppressed by civilized nations, perfidy and injustice are the only things they borrow from their oppressors; and the animosity excited by a sense of the injuries they

sustain, presents an insuperable barrier to their improvement in civilization.

The system of oppression under which the Hottentots suffered so grievously, rendered it necessary for their oppressors to allege some reasons in their own defence; and to a colonial government, in possession of the ear of the government at home, this was an easy matter. While a government continues on the side of the oppressed, abuses must be an exception to a general rule; but when the duty and the interest of those at the head of a government are placed in opposite directions, the law itself becomes the greatest abuse; all checks are withdrawn from the passions of the oppressors; and the oppressed, if they are incapable of vindicating their own rights, are left without a remedy.

To the Dutch East India Company, which still, in all its communications with the Cape, manifested considerable solicitude for the protection and improvement of the aborigines, the government at the Cape justified itself from the complaints urged against it for its conduct to the colonial Hottentots, by laying the blame on their character. The Hottentots were now said to be the most degenerate creatures upon earth; they were represented as the lowest class of human beings; as void of memory; as filthy, and disgusting to a degree exceeding credibility; and so ungovernable in their propensities, that nothing would do for them but severe coercion.

But the Bushmen-Hottentots have been still more calumniated. They have been represented, in their persons, as caricatures of human nature, as a species of semi-baboons, and as full of deadly malignity against all other beings.

Colquhoun, on the "Resources of the British Empire," has informed us, with matchless simplicity, that all attempts to tame the Bushmen have hitherto proved ineffectual, and that they cannot be civilized.

Plutarch remarks, when a painter has to draw a fine and elegant form, which happens to have a blemish, we do not want him entirely to omit it, nor yet to define it with exactness. The one would destroy the beauty of the picture; the other would spoil the likeness. On a minute inspection of many individuals of the Bushman race, it is obvious that most who have travelled among them have not only marked distinctly, but aggravated their blemishes, and so disparaged their more pleasing features, as to create disgust towards a people, who, if they cannot boast of forms to call forth admiration, exhibit, nevertheless, but few of those physical deformities so largely ascribed to them. Many, particularly the children, have interesting countenances, and under more auspicious circumstances would speedily lose their displeasing peculiarities of appearance, which in all countries are, in a greater or less degree, the inseparable concomitants of penury and suffering. The plant which, in the desert, is stunted in its growth, and presents but a scanty foliage, becomes the pride of the surrounding scenery when nourished by a more generous soil.

The most miserable specimens of the Bushman race are to be found amongst the frontier boors, or in the immediate vicinity of the colony. Many of the more remote hordes, still remaining in a state of comparative independence, are much superior in stature, and have a vivacity and cheerfulness in their countenances which form a striking contrast with the others. Some are

from five feet nine, to five feet ten and a half inches in height, and the former stature is by no means unusual. Besides the ordinary causes for the exaggerated descriptions of the Bushmen, is the ease with which a caricature may be executed, and the propensity of travellers to aim at effect; and other considerations have aggravated this evil, not less intelligible, and not, perhaps, more creditable to human nature.

It is well known how much the adventitious circumstances of youth and beauty heighten our compassion for a sufferer. Add rank to these advantages, and say that the individual is a highly accomplished female, and sympathy for her case will be raised to its utmost height. Had Mary, Queen of Scots, been as defective in personal charms as she was in prudence, less sympathy would have been excited by her unfortunate end. Knox might have made an ugly and deformed woman weep without creating much indignation; but the fascination of Mary's beauty, added to her rank, has sunk her crimes, and the benefits of the Reformation, in the same grave; and that which entitled our Reformer to the highest praise, the triumph of his principles, has loaded him with the reproaches of a partial and frivolous world. On the same principle, when the liberties of a people are to be extinguished; or, when greater severities are to be inflicted; if, besides assigning certain disqualifications for freedom, and the necessity of restraining their vices, ugliness and deformity can be thrown into the picture, few will interest themselves in the fate of the originals. Misrepresentation and calumny having prepared the way, the work of slavery and extermination may proceed with impunity.

The Bushmen are doubtless in a very ignorant and

degraded state; but the filth and dejection which have been adduced in proof of their incapability of being improved, afford a better criterion of their depressed condition, than of the absence of mental capacity. The Bushman, in a native state, is in perpetual alarm, not merely for the safety of his little property, but for his personal safety, and for that of his family. He is obliged to inhabit, for security, rocks almost inaccessible to any foot but his own; and is perpetually called upon to remove from place to place, lest the colonists should discover his abode. When he ventures forth in quest of game or roots, he is in the utmost fear of discovery, and has consequently leisure for nothing but the necessary regard to his own preservation.

Many of the accounts which have been published in England respecting the savage, ferocious, and untameable character of the Bushmen, can scarcely be read in Africa without a smile. The civilization of that degraded people is not only practicable, but might be easily attained: while they are by no means deficient in intellect, they are susceptible of kindness; grateful for favours; faithful in the execution of a trust committed to them; disposed to receive instruction; and, by the use of proper means, could be easily brought to exchange their barbarous manner of life for one that would afford more comfort.

In a journey undertaken into the interior of the colony in 1819, we had two Bushmen in our train; the one was called a "tame Bushman," because he had been brought up among the farmers; and the other was found in the Bushman country, and had been newly received into the service of one of our missionaries. The stature of the one was about five feet seven,

that of the other about five feet four. Any one, not apprized of their origin, would have supposed them colonial Hottentots. The wild Bushman had only been a few months in the service of our missionary when he joined us; and we had not in our party any one that was more teachable, faithful, and obliging. During the last four months of our journey he served at table; and, after a month's apprenticeship, conducted himself with as much propriety as any English servant might have been expected to do with as little training.

If the following extract of a letter (written by a gentleman *, who was several years clergyman of a frontier district of the colony, containing many thousand square miles of the Bushman country) is no longer to be regarded as descriptive of the amicable relations which then subsisted between the colonists and the Bushmen, it may, nevertheless, be received as an honourable testimony in favour of the character of that calumniated people:—

"The farmers on the frontiers are entirely dependent on the Bushmen for their welfare. Few, if any, have either slaves or Hottentots, consequently they have no means of getting their cattle properly tended without their assistance. Such farmers as possess Bushmen have been in the habit of committing to them the charge of their flocks, and they have proved such faithful shepherds, that the farmers have not hesitated to give them some hundred ewes and other cattle, to sojourn with them beyond the limits of the colony. The Bushman

* The Rev. A. Faure, now Minister of the Dutch Colonial Church in Cape Town. The high esteem in which this gentleman is universally held, shows that a Minister may be respected by the Colonists, and be, at the same time, a friend to the natives.

having received a reward of some tobacco, dakka, (or hemp leaves for smoking,) and, perhaps, two or three ewes, leaves the habitation of the colonist, drives the cattle into distant parts, with the fertility of which he is well acquainted; and, after an absence of some months, returns to the farmer his cattle in such an improved condition, that had they not his particular mark upon them, he would with difficulty credit that they were the same animals which, on account of their leanness, the Bushman could with difficulty remove from his farm. Sometimes the farmer has put the fidelity of the Bushman to the test, by sending one or other of his acquaintance to try whether he could not obtain a sheep, by promising him some reward; but the instances are rare in which he has succeeded. Many farmers on the frontiers declared to me, that were it not for the Bushmen, they saw no means of breeding cattle."

The following extract of a letter, dated 24th November, 1825, addressed to the author by Sir Jahleel Brenton, Baronet, giving an account of a Bushman boy brought by him from the Cape of Good Hope, may be adduced as strongly confirmatory of the opinions which have been advanced of the talents and disposition of the Bushman people:—

"Hermes is an honour to the race, and a distinguished proof of what this amiable people are capable of. He possesses the sweetest disposition, and the strongest attachments possible. With all the fun and merriment you remember in him, there is a depth of thought and solidity of understanding that is really astonishing. He has been living for the last year with my sisters at Bath, to whom he is invaluable as a

servant, and even as a friend. He heard, some time since, of an approaching confirmation, and expressed a wish to be confirmed. My sister mentioned it to the archdeacon, who requested to see him, and, after a long conversation, pronounced him to have attained a most extraordinary degree of knowledge in religion. He was accordingly confirmed, and became the subject of universal conversation. A clergyman, who had heard of the circumstance, begged to see him, and cross-questioned him in every way. He asked him which of all the characters in the Old Testament he should have wished to have been, had it been possible. Hermes reflected for some time, and then said firmly, 'David, Sir.' 'What? sooner than Solomon, whose prosperity was so great?' 'Yes, Sir; both were sinners; but David, we know, repented of his sins; while there is no passage of scripture which gives us the same opinion of Solomon.' This is the substance of his answer, which greatly surprised his auditors. His memory is wonderful: he brings home every sermon, and comments upon it with extraordinary acuteness."

Colonel Collins, in his report to government, in 1809, which we have had occasion to quote more than once, speaks of the Bushmen as being most liberally gifted by nature with talents. To the same effect, the following passage, related to me as a part of an address delivered by a Bushman to his countrymen, at a missionary station, when some colonists were present, may be adduced as displaying a very considerable knowledge of scripture, and no mean share of natural ability. "Why is it," said he, "that we are persecuted and oppressed by the Christians? Is it because we live in desert lands, clothe ourselves with

skins, and feed on locusts and wild honey? Is there any thing morally better in one kind of raiment, or in one kind of food, than another? Was not John the Baptist a Bushman? Did he not dwell in a wilderness? Was he not clothed with a leathern girdle, such as we wear? And did he not feed on locusts and wild honey? Was he not a Bushman? Yet Christians acknowledge John the Baptist to have been a good man. Jesus Christ (whose forerunner he was) has said that there has not arisen among men a greater than John the Baptist. He preached the doctrine of repentance to the Jews, and multitudes attended his ministry; he was respected even by the Jews, and preached before a great king. It is true John the Baptist was beheaded, but he was not beheaded because he was a Bushman, but because he was a faithful preacher; and where, then, do the Christian Men find anything in the precepts or example of their religion to justify them for robbing and shooting us, because we are Bushmen?"

For a brief description of the manner in which these people were treated, when Sparrman travelled in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, I beg leave to refer the reader to the following extract from the Work of that writer:—

"The slave business, that violent outrage against the natural rights of mankind, which is always in itself a crime, and leads to all manner of misdemeanours and wickedness, is exercised by the colonists with a cruelty toward the nation of *Boshies-men*, which merits the abhorrence of every one; though I have been told that they pique themselves upon it: and not only is the capture of the Hottentots considered by them merely as a party of

pleasure, but, in cold blood, they destroy the bands which nature has knit between husband and wife, and between parents and their children. Not content, for instance, with having torn an unhappy woman from the embraces of her husband, her only protection and comfort, they endeavour all they can, and that chiefly at night, to deprive her likewise of her infants; for it has been observed, that the mothers can seldom persuade themselves to flee from their tender offspring."

In the instructions given to Colonel Collins, by the colonial government, on his visit into the interior, among other subjects on which he was called to collect information, his attention was particularly directed to the Bushmen. Having studied their character, as far as his opportunities allowed him, he asserts, without the slightest qualification, what we have already stated as affirmed by him,—that there is not upon the face of the globe a people possessed of better natural abilities, or more susceptible of mental or moral improvement.

Having stated this officer's opinion on this subject, the reader must be anxious to know the measures he has recommended in his report to the colonial government, in 1809, to be adopted for their improvement; and they shall be stated in his own words:—

"In adverting to our northern neighbours," says he, "I feel the sincerest pleasure in being enabled to recommend a more liberal line of policy than that which I think necessary to be observed, for a considerable time at least, towards those of the east. Different from the Kaffers and Tambookies, the Bosjesmen are mostly scattered over an immense tract of country, in small parties unconnected with each other: they may, therefore, be more safely introduced into the

colony, collected and instructed in institutions, and dispersed among the inhabitants.

"The report which I formerly had the honour to make, founded on the information that I had received of the state of those people living beyond the northern boundary, will, I believe, apply equally to those residing near the north-eastern limits. Although differing, in some degree, in language and appearance, their habits and manners are in few points dissimilar. They subsist on the same food, use the same arms, and are equally attached to a wandering life; they are alike bound by no authority, and are unconnected by all ties, except relationship, and such as tend to secure their individual safety. My sentiments have been already so fully delivered on the subject of missionary institutions, that, convinced as much as ever of their utility, under proper regulations, it remains for me only to point out the situations that seem most eligible for their establishment.

"The inhabitants of Hantam, and the Roggeveld, suffer most by the depredations of Bosjesmen, perhaps on account of their great distance from their usual haunts in the Karree mountains, which prevents the possibility of friendly communication; this should, I conceive, be the first point attended to. The situation chosen by Mr. Kicherer was found convenient, and the happiest effects were felt during the continuance of his institution, which was abandoned for no cause but pecuniary difficulties. Should any objection arise to the reoccupying of this spot, the Bloom or Katel Fonteyn, at the distance of one or two days' journey east of it, might be chosen, and would, perhaps, be

even preferable, as it is said to afford better water and pasturage.

"Mr. Kicherer, at whose disposal, it seems, government had left a large tract, situated between the Riet and Zak rivers, had permitted an inhabitant, named Krieger, to take this spot as a temporary residence, in consequence of his friendly disposition towards the Bosjesmen. The next point deserving attention is Tarka. The mountains east of that district are so extensive, and so difficult of access, as to have rendered them a favourable retreat of Bosjesmen. Although, through the encouragement of government, much has of late been done there by the landdrost and the farmers, much remains to be effected by a missionary establishment. There are many suitable spots a few miles east of Schaap-kraal, among which may be mentioned Haas Fonteyn and Besuidenhout's kraal.

"The middle of the northern boundaries is not much less worthy of notice than the extremities. The inhabitants of the Nieuweveld and the Ghoup are on friendly terms with the few kraals in the neighbourhood; one of which, consisting of nearly twenty families, under the command of a chief named Lessing, I visited, with only my companion, Mr. Cowderoy, and two more persons. This good understanding protects the farmers from the depredations of these people, and from those of others more distant; but it does not secure the inhabitants of Zwartberg and the neighbouring district from their attacks.

"There are several spots adapted for missions in this quarter. The most eligible would perhaps be an abandoned place called Slange Fonteyn; one of the

sources of the Zak river; and formerly the residence of a farmer named Cornelius Janson.

"Should it be found expedient to multiply these useful establishments, the Groot Fonteyn, situated on that part of the boundary nearest the Orange river, and the vicinity of Groot Tafelberg, west of the Sea-Cow river, are favourable points; both from the excellent pasturage and water which they afford, and from the neighbourhood of several kraals of Bosjesmen.

"This part of the colony, although the most distant from the capital, is in a more improving state than any that I have visited. The tracts stated in Mr. Barrow's chart to have been deserted, on account of the attacks of the Bosjesmen Hottentots, are now entirely filled up, and the country is inhabited as far as the limits. Until the establishment of missions, the most effectual mode of preventing the depredations of the Bosjesmen seems to be the encouragement of the good will now generally prevailing towards them amongst the inhabitants of the borders. I stated, on a former occasion, their great want of gunpowder; the quantity which they are permitted to purchase from the government magazine was increased about that period; but it is still insufficient, and should be at least doubled for the inhabitants of Under Bokkeveld, Hantam, the Roggeveld, Nieuweveld, the Ghoup, the Sneeuwbergen, Sea-Cow river, Rhinoceros Berg, and Tarka.

"The Bosjesmen often suffer extreme misery; seldom rob but to satisfy their wants; and afford the fairest hope of becoming, in time, useful to themselves and to the colony. Humanity and policy, therefore, combine to prompt the adoption of every measure that

can tend to alleviate their unhappy lot, and attach them to the settlers.

"The measure of my Lord Macartney for supplying them with sheep, which I formerly noticed, seemed to have nothing in view but to keep them quiet; the expense of these gifts falls entirely upon the inhabitants of the borders; and the manner of distributing them must have created an opinion that they proceeded rather from fear than beneficence.

" I think, however, that if the Missionary Institutions be not established in those parts of the frontiers where it may be judged most convenient to place them, some means should be had recourse to for supplying the wants of the Bosjesmen. I feel it my duty strongly to point out the necessity of some steps being immediately taken on this subject; for if the missions are not soon established, or other means found of subsisting those Bushmen who have kraals within, or near the boundary, and do not work for the inhabitants, the latter, at length, may become tired of their importunities; and by refusing to satisfy their demands, may be exposed to the unexpected effects of their resentment. The least evil that can be looked for, is their returning to the mountains, and recommencing their former predatory mode of life; which, indeed, I understand has happened lately with some of them.

" Notwithstanding the benefits that may be expected from the adoption of the proposed measures, I fear that it will be a considerable time before the plan of engaging the Bosjesmen to serve the inhabitants during regulated periods, can be conveniently adopted. Until long accustomed to the way of living of the colonists, they leave them for some months every year to enjoy a

ramble, and eat locusts, wild roots, and the larvæ of ants. It would be impolitic, and indeed impossible, to compel them at once to relinquish these habits; and it can only be hoped, that the exertions of the farmers on the borders, and the beneficence and justice of a watchful government, may at length vanquish these early propensities, and guide, to useful purposes, the exercises of those talents with which they have been so liberally gifted by nature."

The testimony of Colonel Collins should have the more weight with a certain class of society, as he scruples not to state, in his report to government, that he was influenced in recommending the establishment of missions to the Bushmen, from their civilizing effects only; and that a concern for the salvation of their souls had no place in his mind, nor any influence on his recommendation. While he urges missions to be established among the Bushmen, he advises the abolition of Bethelsdorp, and the dispersion of the Hottentots among the farmers; and at the same time urges government to allow no more missions within the colony. This officer's zeal for missions among the Bushmen, and the abolition of those in the colony, proceeds from the same principle, namely, what he conceives would be for the benefit of the farmers. The only reason he assigns for opposing missions within the limits is, that he thinks it better for the farmers that the Hottentots should be among them, than that they should be at an institution; and he actually proposes that the Bushmen, after being civilized at our institutions, should be distributed among the farmers in a similar manner.

The urgency with which Colonel Collins advocates

the extension of missions to the Bushmen, and the favourable disposition of Lord Caledon and Sir John Cradock, induced the London Missionary Society to renew their attempts amongst them. The mission at Toverberg was commenced in 1814; that at Hephzibah at a subsequent period. Mr. Smith, a missionary appointed by our society, was associated in this mission with Jan Goedman, a native teacher. After a few months' trial, the difficulties which occurred at its commencement were sufficient to induce Mr. Smith to abandon the attempt, and return to Graaff-Reinet. Goedman, however, the native teacher, remained at the station, and the favourable change which took place after the departure of Mr. Smith, in the prospects of the mission, dissipated his apprehensions, and again recalled him to the sphere of labour which he had forsaken.

The missionary had arrived at Hephzibah but a short time, when a Bushman brought to him eight of his countrymen, with their wives and children. Numerous arrivals were regularly witnessed, so that the missionary found it expedient to see and converse with such as wished to join the institution. Opportunity was thus obtained for ascertaining their numbers; and, in about a month from his first appearance in their country, they amounted to no less than eight hundred and eighty-seven, exclusive of children. In about eight days more, they received an addition of eighty-five, and the number continued to increase: but the missionary discontinued putting down the names of the new comers, and he knew of none who left him. The Bushmen generally went out to invite others of

their nation to join them, and when they succeeded, the individuals were introduced to the missionary; and, after staying a few days at the institution, usually returned, to bring their families with them. The Bushmen belonging to the two stations, at this period, might amount to about seventeen hundred. The progress they made at both was rapid, considering that they were wholly unaccustomed to manual labour, and without any idea of agriculture.

Shortly after the commencement of the mission at Hephzibah, the people (the missionary states) cultivated upwards of two English acres with spades; and, had spades been sufficiently numerous, there can be little doubt that they would have done more. After this, they made separate gardens, and would on no occasion leave the institution, except when they went to hunt, or dig roots, and then they generally returned in time to attend divine service in the evening. They said they would no longer be Bushmen, but live as other people; in proof of which, a few separated themselves from the rest, and jointly built a long house, on posts, for their mutual accommodation.

During the continuance of these institutions among the Bushmen, they committed no depredations in the colony or anywhere else. One of them, on one occasion, remarked to a missionary, that before they heard the gospel, they had several times stolen cattle from the Corannas, but declared they would do so no more; that they now detested stealing, particularly as means were put into their hands whereby they might support themselves; and the missionary adds, in a letter in my possession, that had the

institution been continued, as far as civilization is concerned, a better race of men could not, perhaps, have been found.

The effect, indeed, was as surprising as it was novel, and humanity must have rejoiced at the marks of comfort and improvement attested by those Bushmen villages, in a country which had never before yielded to the plough or the spade.

CHAPTER II.

Abolition of the Bushman missions by the Colonial Government.—Testimonies of their beneficial effects.—Appearance of Toverberg, when visited by the author.—Motives of the colonists in conspiring against these missions.—A Commando, to extirpate the Bushmen, recommended by the Commission of Circuit, in 1816.—Continuance of this bloody system.

With such flattering prospects before us, and after the testimony of Colonel Collins, in favour of missions, and the strenuous manner in which he urges their establishment upon the colonial government, for the civilization of the Bushmen, and the benefit of the farmers, my readers will be quite unprepared to hear that, on the arrival of the deputation of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, we found these Bushman missions abolished, and the missionaries recalled within the limits of the colony.

In 1816, when Mr. Corner went to Graaff-Reinet, to have his child baptized, the landdrost informed him of the feelings entertained by the colonists towards his institution; and desired him to wait the arrival of the governor, Lord Charles Somerset, who would be there in a few days; intimating, at the same time, that it was not probable he would be permitted to return.

His Excellency, on seeing him, expressed his sorrow that he was under obligation to recall him within the limits of the colony, as these institutions, in the Bushman and the Griqua countries, were detrimental to the

colony. When permission was requested that he might be allowed to return to his station, for only a limited time, the governor refused it, observing, that if it was wanted, he must write to the government in England, as it was beyond his power to grant it. The governor asked him why he did not teach the Hottentots within the colony, and make good subjects of them: to which it was answered, that there were already several missionaries within the colony; and his instructions from the society were to a different effect. The governor wished him to itinerate among the farmers, staying eight or ten days at each place, and instructing their slaves; in which case, he would find the government favourable to him. Particular spots were pointed out to him, but he was expressly forbidden to form an institution similar to those then in existence.

After having given full details of the conversation which took place at this interview, in which nothing is alleged that afforded the shadow of a pretext for the measures now resorted to against those interesting missions, Mr. Corner states, in a document now before me, that the governor desired the landdrost to furnish him with a written order, requiring him to remove from Hephzibah, and to settle within the colony. "The first intimation," he adds, "that I received of the intention of government to abolish the infant institution of Hephzibah, reached me before my visit to Graaff-Reinet. This intimation was communicated to me by Mr. Smith of Toverberg. He gave me no particulars; he merely stated that some misunderstandings had taken place between him and the surrounding farmers about Bushmen children; that the Field-cornet Vanderwalt was against the mission, and had reported of it un-

favourably to the landdrost; that his apprehension was, that destruction threatened his mission; and that, if it was put down, Hephzibah would not be spared. After receiving a written order from the government, prohibiting my return to occupy that station, I received a written order also for Mr. Smith, requiring him to leave his mission and return to the colony."

This triumph of injustice and oppression has never ceased to be lamented by the humane and religious part of the colonists themselves, as will be seen by the following extracts from letters which have been received on this subject. An individual, who was present at the commencement of those stations, and who had enjoyed favourable opportunities of marking their progress in knowledge and civilization, writes (in a letter, dated in 1820) as follows:—

"Where any attempts have been made with the Bushmen, the results have been most favourable. The station at Toverberg had not been long established, when a great improvement became visible. When the institution was abolished, numbers were learning to read; some of them had become decidedly pious; and all began to put their hands to labour, and could handle pretty well the spade and sickle, &c. Although deprived of their teacher, they still keep up the forms of religion; and meet together to edify each other.

"The civilizing effects of Mr. Corner's labours at Hephzibah were still more striking. From the first day of their assembling together, they commenced making large gardens, and raised quantities of Indian corn, pumpkins, water-melons, beans, &c. A savage Bushman captain, at Kramer's fountain, has become an industrious man, having a corn-field, and a large garden of his own. He was considered, and acknow-

ledges himself to have been the most depraved of his race in that part of the country; but he has, for the last three years, conducted himself in the most prudent way possible, and is a wonder to himself and others; he attends the means of instruction, and is observed to be steady in the use of private prayer.

"It is very distressing to see the ground the Bushmen cultivated, now in possession of the farmers. I am sorry to say, that if the present system is continued, the Bushmen must either be driven from the country they now inhabit, or become slaves to the farmers. A great part of the land, containing springs, in the Bushman country, between the colony and the Orange river, is now converted into grazing places for the farmers' cattle. The farmer, when hunting in the Bushman country, comes to a good place, having a fountain of water; he puts up his beacon; sends his cattle there; and claims it as his own. The evils arising out of this practice are many and great. When the Bushmen have all their game killed, and their fountains taken from them, they must be slaves or starve, or be driven to desperation. The fear of having their abuses represented to government is no doubt at the bottom of the opposition which has been shown to the missions in the Bushman country. But while I state these things, it is but justice to say, that many of the farmers in the Graaff-Reinet district show a different spirit; they manifest great sorrow on account of the abolition of the missions there; and wish them to be missionary stations again. I must say that the opposition which led to the destruction of those missions did not proceed from the farmers in their neighbourhood, but from farmers at a distance."

The following extract is from a letter, dated in

1822, from the Rev. A. Faure, the respectable colonial clergyman already mentioned, and who was then minister of the district church at Graaff-Reinet. It is deserving of notice, that this letter was written after visiting the sites of those missionary stations, and between five and six years after the abolition of the missions. Five or six years after those poor Bushmen had been robbed of their teachers, we have it on the authority of this respectable clergyman, who had no interest to serve in giving his testimony, that the effects of the missionaries' labours among the natives was so visible and striking, as to make it matter of deep regret to every lover of mankind, that the colonial government should have ever issued an order for the recall of the missionaries.

"I visited," says Mr. Faure, "the spot lately occupied by Mr. Smith. Here I found a beautiful garden, an excellent vineyard, fine wheat, &c., &c. Some of the Bushmen, whom Mr. Smith baptized, had acquired very rational ideas of the principles of the Christian religion; and appeared to feel its constraining influence in their habitual conduct. They were zealous in trying to convey the same inestimable blessings to their unhappy countrymen, who live without God, and without hope in the world. It was delightful to hear the children sing the praises of Jehovah, and to witness the progress they have made in spelling and reading. These facts, which have come under my own observation, prove that the conversion of this race of immortal beings is not impossible. It is indeed lamentable that these missions should be relinquished; and it would be most desirable that means should again be employed for their re-establishment."

In 1822, Mr. Corner, the individual who commenced

and continued the institution at Hephzibah till it was abolished, writes as follows:—

"When the institution was put down, it occasioned much grief to the Bushmen; and it continued to be a source of regret to them, as far as I can learn from the different messages which they have from time to time sent me. They continued on the spot waiting for a missionary. Two or three months ago many of them were still there, looking for the arrival of a teacher. The first two or three years after the institution was put down they continued to make gardens; in proof of which, it may be stated, that when one of the missionaries' waggons came past them from Lattakoo, they gave the people in charge of the waggon, vegetables, water-melons, and tobacco *."

* Mr. Thompson, passing through this country, in 1823, describes a kraal of Bushmen residing near Vanderwalt's, who were, in fact, part of those who had belonged to Hephzibah; but who, in returning to be dependents on the boors, had sunk back to barbarism and destitution.

"Understanding that a kraal, or horde of Bushmen was close by, the inhabitants of which were partly in the service of the colonists, I set off with some of the boors to visit them. A set of beings in more miserable plight I could scarcely have conceived; they were nearly destitute of any sort of clothing, crouching together under a few thorn-bushes, which formed but a poor defence from the chill night-blast.

"These poor creatures subsist chiefly upon certain wild bulbs which grow in the plains, and also upon locusts, white ants, and other insects. The bulbs and ants they dig up by means of a hard-pointed stick, with a piece of stone fixed on its head to give it sufficient impetus. Living on friendly terms with the boors, and doing little services occasionally, they also come in for the offals of the cattle killed for food, and of wild game which their patrons sometimes shoot for them. This miserable fare, with a supply of tobacco, and a few sheep skins, satisfies all the wants of these degraded beings."

During my journey into the interior in 1825, I visited Toverberg. The following extract of a letter, written upon the site of the institution, dated August 14, 1825, expresses the feelings I then experienced:—

"We are this day encamped on what was the site of Mr. Smith's institution (Toverberg); and it would melt your heart, and draw tears from your eyes, to compare the promises once given by that institution with the present state of the country, and to hear how fervently the Hottentots are now praying that God may again assemble that scattered people, and pour out his spirit upon them in this place. When Toverberg institution was put down, it was beyond the limits of the colony;—but the country is now peopled with farmers to the Great River, several days journey beyond it! We need not search further for the causes which led to that measure. The country was to be given out to the colonists, and it must be cleared of Bushmen, as if they had been so many wild beasts; and this could not have been done under the eye of a missionary station.

"On our journey to this place, we have met with several of the Bushmen who were with Smith; they still talk of the mission, complain bitterly of its destruction; and their withered and miserable countenances actually lighted up with a momentary joy, when we hinted that there was a probability that the mission might be renewed at that place. Could I transport the friends of humanity, not to say the pious only, to this country, and show them the situation of the poor Bushmen, they would forget they had ever seen human misery before; and, overwhelmed by the spectacle in their immediate view, be in danger of forgetting for a moment that there were other objects in the universe,

who might have claims upon their compassion. Should Great Britain suffer the present system to proceed, with what consistency will she retain upon her statute-books the law that denounces the foreign slave trade as piracy, or condemn France and Portugal for the share they still take in that infamous traffic? If we accuse the nations of the continent on this score, may they not justly retort upon us the present condition of this colony? I hope the time is not far distant when the inhabitants of the rocks shall sing, and when the proscribed Bushmen, whose dwelling is in the rocks, and who are now as much afraid of the face of a white man as of a lion, shall leave their fastnesses, and, in the mountain of God's holiness, in perfect security shout for joy!"

Little more than three years had elapsed from the time Mr. Faure visited this place, but a very great change had taken place in that short period. The houses formerly possessed by the missionaries were now occupied by a boor, and a freed slave, and their families; the lands brought into a state of cultivation by the Bushmen were now cultivated by other hands; not a single Bushman remained on the spot, and the ground, which they had cultivated as gardens, was turned into corn-lands.

The population of the colony had long been extending, and had occupied most of the fertile spots within the limits. In particular, they pressed upon the north-east frontier, beyond which these missions were situated, and which was among the most favourable parts of the country.

The sovereign pleasure of the cattle-boors, on the Bushman frontier, is a range of pasture-land, which

allows their cattle to wander without coming into contact with their neighbours; a chase so extensive, as to enable them to supply their families with game, that it may not be necessary to diminish their herds which are intended for the market; and a situation where they can exercise an unlimited control over the Hottentots and Bushmen. As they have no market for their agricultural produce, they neither plough nor sow more than is required for their families; and as they allow no bread to their Bushmen, very little is sufficient. As their flocks and herds are very extensive, amounting frequently from five thousand to seven thousand, including horned cattle, sheep, and goats, it becomes necessary for them, in those parched parts of the country, to move constantly in search of pasturage. For two-thirds of the year, they are consequently from home, living in waggons, like the ancient Scythians. Having a large tract of country open to them, with none to dispute their use of it, they soon become so impatient of restraint, in this respect, that they will keep at the distance of many miles from other cattle-boors, rather than have any to contest a point with them; and a Bushman, who may have settled upon a spot which they wish for, they instantly seize or drive away.

The frontier boors never think of dividing their extensive domains among their children, while they can find beyond them fountains unoccupied by colonists; and looking upon the Bushmen as an inferior race, and viewing it as an act of injustice that one or any of them should possess what a "Christian man" is in want of, they consider themselves as having the most undisputed right to their fountains and their persons. Destitute of

slaves, their whole dependence for servants is upon the Bushmen and their families; and the disposition which prompts them to increase the number of their farms, to provide separate establishments for each of their children, renders it equally necessary, to enable them to attend their herds and cultivate their lands, to enslave the inhabitants; or to seize the people beyond the boundaries of the colony, in order to reduce them to that condition.

From the necessities of the Bushmen, or by means of deception, it was not found difficult to accomplish their object before the establishment of the missionary institutions; but the checks imposed by the presence of the missionaries on their injustice and oppressions, made the farmers regard them with an evil eye, and they determined to use means to get rid of them. A pretext, under such circumstances, could not long be wanting. Some differences arose, between Mr. Smith of Toverberg and the neighbouring farmers, respecting the seizure of some Bushmen children belonging to the institution; and this being reported to the local authorities, supplied the occasion which was wanted to suppress that mission. Had Mr. Smith's conduct been exceptionable, that was no reason for abolishing the mission: another missionary might have been found to have occupied his place; but, to show that no criminatory matter could be brought forward against him, to justify this severe measure against the mission, it is necessary only to state, that, on his return to the colony, he was taken into the pay of government as a missionary, and that he continues to this time in its service, and under its patronage.

The missions being suppressed, the way was now

now open to the work of oppression, slavery, and extermination; and it has been carried on ever since on a large scale.

While the missionaries were employed in effacing from the minds of the savages their impressions of past injuries, instilling into their hearts the peaceful spirit and precepts of the Gospel, teaching them the arts of civilized life, and exerting all their influence to prevent them from making war upon each other, or upon the colony, their presence among those savage tribes secured them against the dreadful consequences resulting from the commando system.

The poor Namaquas, Corannas, and Bushmen speak with petrifying horror of the bloody massacres which were frequently taking place previous to the missionaries coming among them. It frequently happened that a whole kraal was taken by surprise, the cattle all captured, and the women and children carried off to be slaves to the murderers of their husbands and fathers; while scarcely an individual escaped to tell the neighbouring tribes of the destruction of his kraal. The missions were almost the only checks to these bloody proceedings; the commandants knew that they could not carry on those commandoes, take possession of the Bushman country, and reduce the people to slavery, while their conduct was open to the observation of the missionaries; and the first step necessary to enable them to revive the old system, in its full extent, and get possession of the Bushmen and their country, was, to get rid of missionary institutions. With such objects in view, it was not to be supposed that pretexts would be wanting; and the reasons assigned for carrying this point will be seen

in the preceding letters, and the statement of Mr. Corner.

The abettors of slavery in the West Indies assert, that the state of things has been so thoroughly altered, that the testimony of Messrs. Stephen and Macaulay, who resided there about twenty years ago, and who were living witnesses of its enormities, is, from their long absence, wholly invalidated. The same style of reasoning has been employed respecting South Africa. Barrow saw and fully admitted the atrocities perpetrated under the Dutch government, though he ascribed them exclusively to the cruelty of the boors, who, from the alleged weakness of the government, and their distance from all efficient authority, acted in a great measure according to their own good pleasure. Since his publication, when the conduct of the boors has been impugned, the Quarterly Review declares, that they are not now what they were a quarter of a century ago. When Barrow travelled among them, he was the first Englishman they had seen. He visited them in an official character, and then they were in a state of rebellion against the government, and equally without religious instruction and legal restraint. Since that time, however, many English regiments have been among them; they have fought against the common enemy, the Caffers; churches have been erected, and ministers appointed to perform divine service; a commission of the members of the Court of Justice make an annual circuit; and the colonists are therefore, it is presumed, become good and loyal subjects.

Considering the period the Cape has been in the hands of the English, whose administration has certainly been exempt from the charge of weakness, it

might naturally have been imagined that the alleged change had taken place. But at the very time that these assertions were made and believed in England, and its inhabitants were flattering themselves in the belief of our superior humanity—at that very time, the system which rendered the Dutch name so infamous was carrying on, in all its horrors, under the English government. Impatient to obtain undisturbed possession of the Bushman country, and tired of the slow method of exterminating the natives by commandoes of boors, under the field-cornets, a plan was devised to employ the Cape regiment, and the British soldiers then on the frontiers of the colony, in this work of death.

In 1816, while the Commissioners of Circuit were at Cradock, very strong complaints were made to those gentlemen respecting the depredations said to have been committed by the Bushmen and Caffers. The field-cornet Van Wyk stated, that, by those depredations, the losses sustained by the colonists, in sheep and cattle stolen, amounted to the sum of fifty thousand rix-dollars; and that neither himself nor his landdrost had power to raise a commando, and to go in pursuit of the thieves; and that, owing to these depredations, and that want of power to redress them, the residents of the district were threatening to collect their property together, and retire into the interior of the colony.

Without inquiring into the truth of these statements, the Commission of Circuit appear to have given implicit credit to the whole story: for, when they arrived at Uitenhage, on their way to Cape Town, they wrote a letter to the colonial government, containing the re-

presentation made to them by Mr. Van Wyk, the local authorities, and the boors of the district. This letter was dated Nov. 12, 1816. Cradock was then a deputy-drostdy, under the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet; and the Governor, immediately on the receipt of the letter from the Commissioners of Circuit, wrote officially to the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, expressing a considerable degree of surprise that such important information should have reached the colonial office in a circuitous way, and, at the same time, ordering him to muster a commando, to be composed of all the military on the frontiers, to punish the aggressors. He was instructed to correspond with Colonel Cuyler on the subject, who was then commandant on the Caffer frontier; and that officer was ordered to furnish all the disposable force in his district.

Had such a commando gone against the Bushmen, at that period, they would have probably killed and taken prisoners the whole of that ill-fated race, from the old limits of the colony to the Orange river; but landdrost Stockenstrom called for the facts respecting the asserted depredations, and finding they could not be produced, he wrote a letter to Colonel Cuyler, dated 10th January, 1817, denying the necessity of the measure, and declining the assistance offered for the execution of the bloody work.

Though the system thus received a momentary check, it soon proceeded with its usual regularity, and there appears no district from which commandoes were subsequently more frequently ordered than from Cradock. In corroboration of this statement, I shall content myself with giving a few extracts, out of many which I might produce, from letters addressed to me by gen-

tlemen of the first respectability in the colony. One gentleman writes me, in a letter, dated from Beaufort, in 1821, that the commando system still continues:—"There have been," he says, "two commandoes from this district against the poor Bushmen, within these few weeks. I have had several conversations with individuals who have been engaged on these expeditions, and they talk of shooting Bushmen with the same feelings as if the poor creatures were wild beasts."

Another gentleman, in the service of government, and possessed of accurate information, in a letter dated Graaff-Reinet, 1822, writes to me as follows:—"The Bushman country, to the Orange river, is now, I may say, entirely in possession of the colonists. The land possessing springs of water has been measured, and given to them in perpetual quit-rent, without reserving any thing for the poor natives. Should a Bushman, deprived of his game, and the means of subsistence, by the encroachment of the farmers, happen to steal a sheep to keep himself or his family from starving, if apprehended and taken alive, he is publicly flogged under the scaffold, branded with a hot iron, put in irons, and condemned to hard labour.

"The poor Bushman may, indeed, say 'All the game in my country is killed by the farmers, or what they have not killed, they have driven away; their flocks are now feeding, where the herds of game on which we formerly fed used to graze; and, if we take a lamb, or a few sheep of these white men, they tie our hands, flog us, load our feet with irons, and put us to death!'

"I have examined the documents from which you have translated and transcribed the testimonies, which

show the treatment the Bushmen received from 1774 to 1795, and can vouch for their correctness. I have no hesitation in saying that I am fully satisfied, that, were the records of Tulbagh, now Worcester, and those of Graaff-Reinet, Beaufort, and Cradock examined, you might find details equally shocking, down to 1822.

"While England boasts of her humanity, and represents the Dutch as brutes and monsters, for their conduct towards the Hottentots and Bushmen, a narrow inspection into the proceedings which have taken place during the last two or three years, will bring to light a system, taken altogether, perhaps exceeding in cruelty any thing recorded in the facts you have collected, respecting the atrocities committed under the Dutch government."

CHAPTER III.

Exclamation of a Bushman on going to be executed.—Description of the State of the Bushmen in 1823.—Mr. George Thomson's Account of the Commando system.—Feelings of the Colonists on this point.—Comparative Humanity of the Dutch and English Governments.—Present Condition of the Bushmen.—Interview with Uithaalder, the Bushman Chief.—His Memorial.

The clergyman of the district of Graaff-Reinet stated to me, that, in 1819, when he was called, in the exercise of his duty, to attend at the execution of a Bushman, who was condemned on the charge of having been accessary to the slaughter of a slave belonging to a frontier boor, the poor creature was so ignorant of my friend's character, and so incapable of appreciating the intention of his visit, that, on his first introduction to him, he accosted him in the following terms:—"I knew you would kill me, you murderer! my father always told me to beware of the white men, for they would kill me, and I see he has spoken the truth!"

The following is an extract of a letter from S. Bailey, Esq., a most respectable medical gentleman, residing in Cape Town, dated 5th December, 1822:—

"An old Hottentot, from Hantam, named Whitbooy, formerly a servant of Mr. Van Reenen's, my father-in-law, called upon him a few days ago, when, after a few questions, Mr. Van Reenen asked him how the crops were looking in that country: he said he

knew nothing of the matter, having just returned from the Bushman country, where he had been from July last, with the commando under the command of the field-cornet, Van der Merwe; and added, that they had killed thirty men and eighteen children, their orders being that they were not to make any prisoners. I had subsequently an opportunity of having this report confirmed by a young African farmer, who had been with the same commando; and he further informed me, that another commando was on the point of leaving Hantam, with the hopes of making peace with those unfortunate Bushmen who had escaped the former commando."

The following extract is from a letter of a respectable merchant, residing in Cape Town, written after a journey across the Bushman country, and dated 22nd July, 1823:—"You are desirous of being made acquainted with the state of the Bushmen, and informed of any particulars that I might pick up relative to these unhappy creatures. It is with pain that I have to observe, that the commando system is still carried on to a great extent, and to the destruction annually of a great many of our fellow-creatures. It seems to me as if the boors considered it a meritorious deed to destroy them, like the wild beasts of the desert. No doubt the boors are at this moment much plagued by the Bushmen; but who were the first aggressors? Who robbed them of their country? Who drove them from their native haunts? The very people who now continue to extirpate the race. If we have taken the country from them, it is but justice that we do something in way of remuneration, and endeavour to alleviate their miserable condition, a condition little

above that of the wild beasts. The boors in the Tarka are very frequently out on commandoes, and speak of killing Bushmen as a matter of course. I understand that upwards of one hundred Bushmen were destroyed last year by these commandoes, in the district of Cradock alone: this fact is stated to me by Mr. ——, a person in the government employ, and who, of course, does not wish his name to be mentioned. On various other parts of the frontiers, the system of destroying these poor creatures is carried on in the same manner.

"On my passing Beaufort, I learned that a commando had lately returned from an expedition against the Bushmen; and three boors, who brought me across the Gamka, told me they had been on this commando, and that there were shot twenty-six men, two women, and two children. By such measures, the race is fast approaching annihilation: these miserable creatures now fly to the secret recesses of the mountains or thickets, from whence they emerge only at the calls of hunger. The Bushmen, when taken, are distributed among the boors for a term of years, according to their age; children, I believe, serve twenty years *."

In addition to the preceding statements, I beg leave to subjoin a few extracts from a book of travels in South Africa, lately published by Mr. George Thomson, a respectable English merchant at the Cape. The

* From the connexion of some of the writers of the preceding extracts with government, I have thought it advisable not to publish their names; but it deserves to be mentioned, to the honour of human nature, that if the publication of their names is necessary to the good of the cause, I am authorised, without regard of what they may suffer for their honesty, to make their names known.

travels of this gentleman, in the country of the Bushmen, are of a very recent date; and the well-known integrity of his character is a sufficient voucher for all the statements he gives, which rest on his own personal observation:—

"The Bushmen on this frontier," he observes, "whatever may have been their original condition, are now entirely destitute of cattle, or property of any description; and, now that the larger game has been almost entirely destroyed, or driven out of their country, by the guns of the boors and bastaards, they are reduced to the most wretched shifts to obtain a precarious subsistence, living chiefly on wild roots, locusts, and the larvæ of insects. The wandering hordes of this people are scattered over a territory of very wide extent, but of so barren and arid a character, that by far the greater portion of it is not permanently habitable by any class of human beings.

"Even as it is, the colonists are continually pressing in upon their limits, wherever a fountain, or even a temporary pool of water is to be found. Had this territory been of a character less desolate and inhospitable, there can be little question that it would have been long ago occupied by the Christians. They are continually soliciting from the government fresh grants beyond the nominal boundary; and are, at present, very urgent to obtain possession of a tract lying between the Zak and Hartebeest rivers.

"Commandant Nel informed me, that, within the last thirty-two years, he had been upon thirty commandoes against the Bushmen, in which great numbers had been shot, and their children carried into the colony. On one of these expeditions, not less than

two hundred Bushmen had been destroyed. In justification of this barbarous system, he narrated many dreadful stories of atrocities committed by the Bushmen upon the colonists, which, together with the continual depredations committed upon their property, had often called down upon them the full weight of vengeance. Such has been and, to a great extent, still is, the horrible warfare existing between the Christians and the natives of the northern frontier, and by which the process of extermination is still proceeding against the latter, in the same style as in the days of Barrow.

"It struck me as a strange and melancholy trait of human nature, that this field-commandant, in many other points a meritorious, benevolent, and clear-sighted man, seemed to be perfectly unconscious that any part of his own proceedings, or those of his countrymen, in their wars with the Bushmen, could awaken any abhorrence. The massacre of many hundreds of these miserable creatures, and the carrying away their children into bondage, seemed to be considered, by him and his companions, as things perfectly lawful, just, and necessary; and as meritorious service done to the public, of which they had no more cause to be ashamed, than a brave soldier at having distinguished himself against the enemies of his country; while, on the contrary, he spoke with detestation of the callousness of the Bushmen, in the commission of robbery and murder upon the 'Christians:' not seeming to be aware, that the treatment these wretched tribes had for ages received from the Christians, might, in their apprehensions, justify every excess of malice and revenge that they were able to perpetrate.

"The hereditary sentiments of animosity, and the

deep-rooted contemptuous prejudices, which had blinded Nel's judgment, and seared his better feelings on this point, did not, however, operate to prevent him judging properly in a neutral case."

In reply to the charges exhibited by the boors against the Bushmen, to justify their sanguinary commandoes, it is, perhaps, sufficient to state, that the only class of people, in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, who of late years have been making money, are the cattle-boors in the Bushman country. Passing a farm-house, in the neighbourhood of Genadendal, in 1825, the farmer talked of selling his slaves and his farm, with the intention of going to reside in the Bushman country. Being asked his reason for that determination, he replied, that he had property; but that, in his present situation, he had no prospect of being able to improve it; that the interest which he would receive for the money he might obtain by the sale of his farm and slaves, would be more than the return he now had by the produce of his farm; and that, as he could get Bushmen, and other natives, for nothing in the Bushman country, he might, in those circumstances, very soon acquire a considerable property from a trifling stock, while the principal part of his stock, now sunk in his farm and slaves, might be bringing him a large return.

In my late journey through the district of Beaufort, I spent some hours at the house of a farmer. When this man married twenty-two years before, he resided in the parish of Tulbagh, and he had no property of his own, and he received none with his wife. In these circumstances, they hired themselves out to a farmer for two years, and with the wages they received in that period, they purchased themselves a few necessary

articles, and in company with a few individuals as slenderly provided as themselves, they proceeded to the Bushman country, where they had remained till I saw them there. We agreed very well till I spoke in a feeling manner of the situation of the Bushmen; but the moment I spoke of them as objects of pity, my host was thrown into a violent passion; pronounced them an accursed race; gnashed with his teeth; asserted that they had robbed him of above three thousand sheep; and leaping from his chair, showed me the mark of a wound in his side which he had received from a Bushman. This man, who came into the Bushman country without property, was now in possession of seven thousand sheep and goats, besides oxen. During the twenty years he had been in the Bushman country, he had accumulated property equal in value to five thousand pounds. Had he been in a state of mind to have allowed me to have continued the conversation, I should like to have asked him to reconcile the loss he had sustained in having been deprived of so many sheep, with the herds and other wealth he possessed; but the paroxysm of rage into which he was thrown was so great, that I was glad to quit the subject.

In my late journey into the interior, in 1825, at the last farm-house, on the former boundary line of the colony, near Plettenberg's beacon, I met with a farmer apparently not more than sixty years of age, who informed me that he had been on forty-five commandoes against the Bushmen. On his first going on commando, he was nineteen years of age. He then resided on the Hex river, in the district of Tulbagh. Having remarked to him, that he must have shot many hundreds of Bushmen in all these commandoes, he

was sensibly agitated, and replied, "Yes, sir, that was not good; but I was obliged to obey the commands of the field-cornets." The first commando this boor had been engaged in, having been in 1784, eleven years only before the colony fell into the hands of the English, it is obvious that the greater proportion of these forty-five commandoes must have taken place under the English government. Commandant Nel stated to Mr. Thomson, that, within the last thirty-two years (a number which carries us back to a still later period, and to within two years of our taking possession of the Cape), he had been on thirty commandoes. Whatever may be said, on a comparative view of English and Dutch humanity, it is evident that the mass of evil brought upon the wretched Bushmen is greater under the English government than under the Dutch.

Forcibly dispossessed of their country, or, at least the only valuable parts of it, and of the game on which they subsisted, were the conduct of the colonists toward them ever so mild, little would remain for them but starvation; but as the colonists are solely intent upon their slavery or their destruction, the distribution of the former through their country must give them, almost without the aid of commandoes, tenfold greater facilities. Besides the commando system, which has been revived, the Bushmen that escaped were treated as outlaws, and either driven from their native soil, or seized by the farmers. The whole of their country to the north-east, (the only fertile part,) from the former borders to the great Orange river, has been measured out by the colonial government to the new proprietors; and every Bushman who has survived the means taken to clear the country, and who is not in the service of

the farmers, exists by sufferance only in a fugitive state. This fact is sufficient to show the grounds why the missions were abolished: the plan could not have been executed while the missions existed; and the lights were put out, that what could not bear the eye of a witness, might be perpetrated in the dark. The facts before us are sufficient to show how the evils heaped upon the Bushmen have been much greater under the English government than under the Dutch. The colonists have since that period prodigiously increased; they are not now at a distance from the Bushmen, but press upon their habitations, and the much more extended frontier presents more numerous points of attack. These circumstances, together with the high price of slaves, and their scarcity, from being divided among an increased white population, has greatly accelerated the work of extermination, and thrown an immensely greater number into the hands of the colonists. The difference between the former and present state of their country is the difference between a country occasionally invaded by an enemy, and that country with all its forts, castles, and fenced cities, in the possession of that enemy. Under the old system, the enemy came at particular seasons only, and the Bushmen were warned of their approach, and could shun them; but their enemies now cover every part of their country, and have left them the means neither of defence nor concealment.

Uithaalder, the Bushman chief of Toverberg, and a few of his people, had been baptized by the missionary Smith, and their good sense and piety, and the improvement which had taken place in their condition, excited the admiration of the Rev. Mr. Faure, and other gentlemen, who had visited them so late as 1822.

Some singular stories had been told us, while travelling in the colony, respecting this chief and his family, and the few people who remained with him; but they were of so romantic a character, that we did not, when they were related to us, attach any credit to them. On their being driven from Toverberg, we were told that the chief and his family, and a few who adhered to him, had been cruelly treated by the farmers; that they were then hiding themselves in the most retired parts of the district; that they were reduced to live upon roots only, and what game they could catch in the night; that they were afraid to appear abroad in day-light, for fear of being shot; that, in this situation, they kept up the worship of God among themselves, and that the chief constantly exhorted them to remain steadfast in their profession, and to continue instant in prayer to God that he would again send them a missionary, in the room of those that had been taken from them. Although this description obtained little attention from us at the time we heard it, yet, on visiting the station, we were very anxious, if possible, to see the chief, and to hear from his own lips the story of his sufferings and those of his people; but we could think of no means by which this object, which was to us so desirable, could be attained.

After having spent a few days at Toverberg, examining the geological appearances of that place, which we found to be very interesting, we made our preparations, and proceeded on our journey. On the evening of the same day, about sunset, one of our attendants informed me that he observed some people, whom he supposed to be Bushmen, on one of those basaltic elevations with which this country abounds. They

were at a considerable distance from us; and although the twilight was then favourable for discovering them, in the position in which they were placed, I could not distinguish them from the small basaltic columns with which they were surrounded. Knowing the Hottentots to be remarkable for the sharpness of their sight, I readily received their testimony, and requested them to make the sign of peace; and in a short time we observed an individual or two moving, with hesitating steps, towards our waggons. But, when our Hottentots (who went forward and met them, at a small distance) informed them that we were missionaries, they leaped for joy, and came and threw themselves at our feet.

After a few questions, we were most agreeably surprised to find that one of these strangers was the chief himself whose history had excited so much interest in our breasts, and whom we scarcely hoped ever to see. The statement we had before heard, respecting him and the few friends who adhered to him in his adversity, and which appeared to me so improbable, was now confirmed by his own lips; and, from an apprehension that his interview with us might be published abroad in the neighbourhood, and render his life still more insecure, I persuaded him and his party and family, to accompany us to the missionary station of Philippolis, where I proposed leaving them under the protection of our missionary.

The missionaries and other friends who were travelling with me, were so much interested in the narrative of Uithaalder, that they wrote it down, in the form of a deposition. After his statement was committed to writing, I questioned him upon every particular in

it, and the answers he gave me, were in such unison with the whole narrative, and with each other, that I had not the smallest doubt left upon my mind respecting the veracity of the relator, and the general accuracy of his details. To add to the veracious character of the deposition, Messrs. Bartlett and Clark, two missionary artisans, and my intelligent attendants, Boezak and Stoffels, have signed their names to the document as vouchers for its accuracy, and as containing nothing but what was stated in their hearing by the chief Uithaalder.

"The Deposition of Uithaalder, the Captain of Toverberg:

"1st, That deponent is a chief of a tribe of the Bushman nation lying around Toverberg, south of the Great River, in the district of Graaff-Reinet.

"2nd, That many years ago, the father of deponent and his people, whilst in perfect peace, and not having committed the smallest provocation, were suddenly attacked in their kraal by a party of boors from the colony. He and many hundreds of his people, men, women, and children, were killed, and ten waggons, loaded with their children, were carried into the colony, and placed in perpetual servitude.

"3rd, That, since this melancholy occurrence, many commandoes have come against my people, in which multitudes of them have been shot, and the children carried away; and this practice was continued till our late teacher, the Rev. E. Smith, condescended to live among us, to preach the word of God, and to teach us to read, and to refrain from doing harm to any body.

"4th, That while the Rev. E. Smith continued among us, he taught us to cultivate gardens, he gave us seeds to plant them, he showed us how to grow potatoes, and ploughed land, which he sowed for us; and when the harvest came, he taught us to cut down the corn, and divided it among us; and as no more commandoes came against us, we were very happy, and hoped that our troubles were over, and we should live in peace.

"5th, That while we were thus enjoying peace, and getting food to eat, the Rev. Mr. Smith was commanded by the government of the colony to leave Toverberg; and the teacher was very much grieved, and many Bushmen's hearts were sore pained: we wept much, but remained on the land of our forefathers, cultivating our gardens, and praying to the great God for Mr. Smith's return.

"6th, That some moons after Mr. Smith's removal, the boors came and took possession of our fountains, chased us from the lands of Toverberg, and made us go and keep their sheep. Whitboy, one of my Bushmen, and his wife, were both shot by the boors, whilst taking shelter among the rocks, and their child carried into perpetual servitude.

"7th, That I, Uithaalder, was sent by the field-cornet, Van der Walt, to keep his sheep; that one night three of his sheep were missing, and the field-cornet flogged deponent with the sambok, and drove himself and his wife and children from his place, and said, 'Go now, take that; you have not now Mr. Smith, the missionary, to go to, to complain against me.'

"8th, That deponent then went to a small fountain, near Toverberg, where a few Bushmen once

lived; but that last moon the field-cornet drove himself and wife, and young children, from the fountain, saying, 'that Bushmen should have no fountains in this country, and that they should have no pools but the rain-water pools out of which to drink.'

"9th. That about ten moons ago Louw Styns, the son of Hans Styns, travelled with his cattle over the Great River; that I, Uithaalder, was watcher of his cattle, and one evening, when bringing the cattle home, some of the cattle were missing, when deponent was severely beaten with a stave by Louw Styns, who said, 'You have not Mr. Smith to go to now.' The strayed cattle that evening came home of themselves; yet three different times was I beat by Louw Styns for the same reason, whereupon deponent left his service.

"10th, That I, Uithaalder, without people, with my wife and four young children, was necessitated to live among the mountains, and to subsist upon roots and locusts; and that, on hearing from a Bushman, who knew where deponent and his family were gone to, that missionaries were at Toverberg, deponent came to their waggons on the road, and stated to them his case.

"Uithaalder humbly begs that such white men as are true Christians will take into consideration his distressing case, and the distressing situation of his countrymen, who have survived the murdering commandoes, and who, after being deprived of their fountains, their gardens, and their game, are obliged to see their children taken from them, and themselves driven among wild beasts.

"11th, That last moon, whilst I, Uithaalder, ven-

tured out to the plains, seeking roots to eat, a boor came up to deponent, and inquired what I was doing there?—saying, that I meant to steal some of his sheep, and eat them; and he, the boor, beat your deponent with a sambok severely over the head.

"12th, That Uithaalder knows that much has been said against the Bushmen. Whenever sheep, or goats, or cattle have either strayed, or been stolen, the boors say the Bushmen have stolen them, and they are flogged, and shot, on suspicion only, for the cattle and sheep which have been taken by others, or destroyed by the lions, wolves, and tigers.

"13th, That Uithaalder allows that Bushmen may, when starving, have taken a sheep from a farmer's flock, to keep himself and children alive, but deponent is certain that this seldom happens, and that the Bushmen are blamed and punished without having done anything wrong; and, as a proof of this assertion, he may state, that three sheep for which he was flogged, and driven from the field-cornet's place, were found next day."

"20*th August*, 1825."

"We, the undersigned, attest that all the facts detailed in this statement were related in our hearing by Captain Uithaalder, the chief of a Bushman tribe, which formerly possessed the neighbourhood of Toverberg, comprehending a district containing above seven hundred square miles; and that the deposition, after it was written, was read over, paragraph by

paragraph, to Captain Uithaalder, to each of which he was willing to make affidavit.

(*Signed*)

JOHN BARTLETT,
JAMES CLARK,
JACOBUS BOEZAK, his + mark.
ANDRIES STOFFEL, his + mark.

CHAPTER IV.

Mission to the Griquas.—Origin of this Tribe.—Their former savage State.—Effects of the Missionaries' Labours among them. —Their Settlement at Klaarwater, now Griqua Town.—Ordered by the Colonial Government to furnish Recruits for the Cape Corps.—Refuse to accede to this Conscription.—Injustice and Impolicy of the Measure.—Plan to seize the Griquas during the Beaufort Fair.

The progress a people may have made in morals, in social compact, and in civilization, is not to be ascertained by a cursory view of any one stage of the process, but by a careful comparison of what they were at a former period with their present condition.

The present state of the Griquas furnishes us with the means of judging of the effects which the labours of the missionaries have among savages. The origin of this tribe will be found fully developed in the journals of the Rev. Mr. Campbell, and other travellers in South Africa. I need, therefore, only remark here that they are a race of mulattoes whose ancestors were the offspring of the colonists by Hottentot females. These *Bastaards*, as they were termed, finding themselves treated as an inferior race by their kinsmen of European blood, and prevented from acquiring the possession of land, or any fixed property within the colony, about fifty years ago sought a refuge, from contumely and oppression, among the native tribes beyond the Great Orange river; where their numbers were gradually augmented by refugees of the same caste from

the colony, and by intermarriages with females of the Bushman and Coranna tribes around them.

In the year 1800, when Mr. Anderson went among the Griquas, (as they are now denominated,) they were a herd of wandering and naked savages, subsisting by plunder and the chase. Their bodies were daubed with red paint, their heads loaded with grease and shining powder; with no covering but the filthy kaross over their shoulders, without knowledge, without morals, or any traces of civilization, they were wholly abandoned to witchcraft, drunkenness, licentiousness, and all the consequences which arise from the unchecked growth of such vices. With his fellow-labourer, Mr. Kramer, Mr. A. wandered about with them five years and a half, exposed to all the dangers and privations inseparable from such a state of society, before they could induce them to locate where they are now settled.

The country possessed by this people is not so favourable to agriculture as many districts in the colony, and in its present state it is not in a condition to support its increasing population by the cultivation of the earth alone; but the Griquas have now as good a title to be considered an agricultural people as any class in the colony at a remote distance from Cape Town. I did not see, in my late journey, a single fountain in the whole of this country unoccupied; and to show the eagerness of the people to avail themselves of every opportunity that can facilitate agricultural pursuits, they are now employed in attempting to lead out the Great Orange river over a large plain contiguous to English Drift. The difficulties of this undertaking are truly appalling, and would have deterred perhaps

nine-tenths of the inhabitants of the colony from the attempt: and much as I wish them success, I am doubtful of the issue; but the attempt itself indicates a very great change for the better, when compared with their former habits of life. One of the leading literary journals of the present day, when speaking of the improvements made by missionaries in another quarter of the globe, remarks, "But we may drop all other considerations; this alone,—the advancement of a people from the pastoral to the agricultural state, is the grandest and most important step in civilization."

When the labours of the missionaries began to produce their legitimate effects on the minds of the Griquas, promiscuous intercourse between the sexes was instantly abandoned, and since that period, every man has confined himself to one wife. The state of polygamy, as it exists among savage tribes, is one of the greatest obstacles to the success of the missionaries; and when the Christian religion operates so powerfully upon their minds, as to enable them to make the sacrifice which its abandonment requires, the missionaries are furnished with one of the most unquestionable evidences of the efficacy of the instrument they employ, and have the best securities for the future triumph of their principles.

As a corroboration of the preceding statement, the following extract of a letter from the Rev. Wm. Anderson, formerly of Griqua Town, and now of Pacaltsdorp, dated 23d December, 1825, will be perused with interest:—

"When I went among the Griquas, and for some time after, they were without the smallest marks of civilization. If I except one woman, (who had by some

means got a bit of colonial raiment,) they had not one thread of European clothing among them; and their wretched appearance and habits were such as must have excited in our minds an aversion to them had we not been actuated by principles which led us to pity them, and served to strengthen us in pursuing the object of our missionary work,—to restore beings sunk in many instances below the brutes. It is a fact, that we were among them at the hazard of our lives. This became evident to us by their own acknowledgments afterwards, they having confessed to us, that they had frequently premeditated to take away our lives, and that for that purpose they had taken weapons into their hands, and were prevented from executing their purposes by what they now considered an Almighty power.

"When we went among them, and for some time after, they lived in the habit of plundering each other, and they saw no moral evil in this, nor in any of their actions. Violent deaths were common; and I recollect many of the aged women told me their husbands had been killed in this way. Their usual manner of living was truly disgusting, and they were void of shame. However, after a series of hardships which required much faith and patience, our instructions were attended with a blessing which produced a great change. The people became honest in their dealings, they came to abhor those acts of plunder which had been so common among them; nor do I recollect a single instance for several years prior to their late troubles, which could be considered as a stain upon their character. They entirely abandoned their former manner of life, and decency and modesty prevailed in their families.

"One of the late chiefs of the Griquas told me one day, the following story. 'Sir,' said he, 'when you first came among us, I thought by myself—Come, I have no objections to have these Dutchmen among us; what they have will be ours; but if they think to persuade me to leave my wives and live as they do, that they shall never be able to effect. I will oppose it to the last. Little did I then think that my mind would ever be disposed to do such an act voluntarily; you never forced me to do this, it was my own act. Through hearing the word of God, I was convinced of sin, and induced to renounce it. Sir,' added he, 'you know little of the abominable lives we led, as we did all we could to keep you in the dark. When I look on my cattle, and think of my former life, I am ashamed.' The exemplary lives they then lived (adds Mr. Anderson) often made me ashamed of my own deficiencies.

"When we first settled among them we had some Hottentots with us from the Zak river. With their assistance we began to cultivate the ground about Riet Fonteyn; but notwithstanding our exhortations, remonstrances, and example, the Griquas manifested the greatest aversion to such work, and appeared determined to continue their wandering and predatory habits. At the end of six months the Hottentots left us, and our prospects as to the future cultivation of the ground became very gloomy. We determined, however, to abide by them; and in wandering about with them, we constantly endeavoured to impress upon their minds the superior advantages they would derive from cultivating the ground, and having fixed habitations. After a considerable time had elapsed, we prevailed upon them to try the experiment, and a com-

mencement was made. This event was preceded and followed by a great and visible improvement upon them as a body. It was soon after our location in this place, that we were visited by Vandergraaf, landdrost of Tulbagh, Mr. Vanderbyl and Professor Lichtenstein. On this occasion, the landdrost expressed himself thus: 'I find every thing different from the reports which have reached the ears of the Governor; and I shall state to him the satisfaction I have felt, on finding things so different as they have been represented, on my return.'

"Considering the circumstances of the people, much land was cultivated at this time, and in the following years the land under cultivation was much increased. I have seen the whole valley from the Fountain down to Lion's Den (which must have included nearly four square miles) covered with corn and barley.

"This refers to Griqua Town alone, and the ground around the neighbouring fountains was in a similar state of improvement."

Before the Griquas were induced to give up their nomadic life and locate themselves in their present situation, the missionaries travelled about with them nearly five years, during which period such were their privations that they were often six months at a time without tasting bread. After they got the people to give up their wandering life, and they began to have bread and garden stuffs with their flesh, to use their own expression, "We seemed scarcely to have an earthly wish left that was not gratified." When, in addition to this improvement in their table, they got comfortable houses and clothing, and saw the people improving in their understandings, in piety and industry, they

found their cup running over, and felt themselves repaid for all their sufferings and sacrifices.

This pleasing state of things continued till 1814, when Mr. Anderson received an order from the colonial government requesting him to furnish twenty men from his institution for the Cape regiment. The following is a copy of this order contained in a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Reynolds, colonial secretary, addressed to Mr. Anderson, missionary at Griqua Town.

"Rev. Sir,

"I am commanded by his Excellency, Lieutenant-General Sir John Cradock, general and commander-in-chief of this colony, to communicate with you upon the following subject:—

"The landdrost of Tulbagh, having been directed to provide a certain number of the Hottentots from the population of his district, as the prescribed quota of a new levy for the Cape regiment, which the hostile proceedings of the Caffer tribes have rendered necessary—represented the extreme difficulty he should experience in finding the number of suitable Hottentots required, without having recourse to the different farmers by whom such people are employed, and from whose service he must necessarily take them, to their great inconvenience, and the prejudice of cultivation, a point of the first consideration.

"His Excellency, with a view to remedy so serious an evil, requests assistance from the institution over which you preside, perfectly confident of your disposition to meet his wishes, as well as the inclination you cannot fail to possess to promote an object of general utility to the state.

"You are, therefore, requested to afford from your society twenty Hottentots, from seventeen to twenty years of age, who, from constitution, strength, shape, and height, may be deemed eligible for the military service of his Majesty."

Mr. Anderson, after making every effort in his power to forward the wishes of the colonial government on this point, wrote a reply to this letter, dated March 26, 1814, stating his want of success; and this communication was followed by a letter from the colonial office, dated 27th May, declaring that, unless the order was complied with, all communication between the missionary station and the colony should be considered at an end.

Shortly after the close of this correspondence, Mr. Anderson visited Cape Town; and the following extract, taken from his journal written at that time, shows that the views and feelings of the colonial government had not undergone any change during the intervening period:—

"Tuesday, at eleven o'clock, I was introduced to Lord Charles Somerset. He received me respectfully; was mild in his manner of address, though he used strong terms; said the business had caused him much uneasiness;—their refusal was a want of the principle of love and gratitude. He admitted that I could not use force with any propriety or safety, but he would try what he could do; and he would bring all the Hottentots (Griquas) into the colony, and disperse them among the farmers.

"I said, as to the propriety of his demand, I could not say any thing. I had done all I could to impress

the minds of the people as to the propriety of their giving the men. He said, he wished not to be misunderstood: 'I mean not,' he said, 'to act against your missionary exertions. No man is more desirous to promote them than I am; but I would see more acts of industry among the Hottentots; and am persuaded more than exhortation is necessary to get them to labour.'

"He referred me to Genadendal and Groenekloof: he said he had been eye-witness of the laziness of the people there; that although they had gardens, they were not sufficient to support them for any length of time; and that when the farmers spoke to the missionaries there to afford them labourers, they said, we can do no more than exhort them to labour; and he declared, that though he had not seen our place, he was persuaded things were not better."

When we reflect on the history of this mission; upon its remoteness from the colony, and the circumstances of the people and the missionaries, I should have deemed such a communication from the colonial government, as that at page 61, impossible, had the fact not been placed beyond doubt by the existence of the original. Waiving the question of right,* I cannot conceive on what principle the colonial government could, for a moment, expect a compliance with such an order. If we suppose that, instead of the conscription in France, and the impressment in England, orders had been sent to the ministers of religion in those countries,

* This people had no protection from the colonial government, and they resided ten days' journey beyond what were then the limits of the colony.

calling upon them to assemble their parishioners, and request them to offer themselves voluntarily for the service required, could any one have entertained a doubt respecting what would have been the result?

If it would have been preposterous to have expected that such a scheme would have succeeded in the most civilised countries upon earth, what shall we say of the character of the measure under consideration? How could the colonial rulers expect to obtain from a missionary without authority, from a people without laws and without government, just emerging from the lowest state of barbarism, what, in the most enlightened and most patriotic nations, can only be effected by the strong arm of power?

The effects were such as might have been expected. The people expressed their wish to live in peace with the colony, and, for that purpose, to make the sacrifice demanded; but, when they came to reflect upon the means by which it was to be effected, they found it impracticable. "We have no government, we have no military force," said they, "to carry the wishes of the colonial government into execution; and where are the fathers that will voluntarily give up their children; or the young men, who will voluntarily sacrifice themselves for the good of the people?" Every one wished the order to be complied with, but every one thought his neighbour was as much bound as himself; and the requisition of government was ineffectual, because there was no authority to enforce it, nor patriotism to supply the want of law.

During this critical period, while Mr. Anderson was at Graaff-Reinet on business, Conrad Buys, the Swellendam farmer mentioned by Lichtenstein, who

married the mother of Gaika, and who has ever been the declared enemy of the English government, visited Griqua Town, and found, to his wish, an opportunity of doing mischief. When our missionary returned, he found a great part of the people estranged from him, and from each other. This malignant deceiver had succeeded in persuading many of the Griquas, that it was the design of the colonial government to bring them into slavery; that the mission was an engine employed by government for that purpose; that Anderson had gone into the colony to concert measures with the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet to accomplish this object; that he would return, followed by an armed force; and that they all would be taken and bound, and divided as slaves among the farmers. Between thirty and forty of the people had left the settlement, and accompanied Buys to the spot where he then resided. Many that remained were the prey of jealousies and false alarms; and the few pious people were broken-hearted at the reverse which had taken place. Mr. Anderson had now a series of very painful trials to encounter; much was effected by his patience, mildness, and good sense; but he never again recovered his former authority, nor the affections of the people, as he formerly enjoyed them. The people had now become wealthy; he had now a good house and a garden, and the comforts and many of the conveniences of life; but, in the midst of all this abundance, after these divisions crept in, he used to look back with regret upon the days he spent in the wilderness, in a state bordering upon destitution, and exclaim—"Oh! that it were with me as in times that are past, when the candle of the Lord shone upon my

tabernacle!" These facts furnish a useful lesson. Men who have been accustomed to have all their orders obeyed with the promptitude of military service, are not, perhaps, able to judge of the delicate situations in which missionaries are placed among savages. While our missionary stations may be as valuable as military posts, it should be recollected the missionary cannot act as a military officer, nor govern by martial law.

If missionaries are to be of any use among savages, then they must be exempted, as much as possible, from foreign interference; and any thing, not immediately connected with the labour of instruction, must be sparingly required of them. The reports of bad, interested, or weak men, on the borders of the colony, must not be heard against their institutions; and they must not be made accountable for every horse or sheep stolen from the colony, even if *one* should be occasionally found *among their* people.

The reasons assigned for the order are deserving of notice:—recruits are wanted for the Cape regiment:—the number required cannot be found without withdrawing them from the farmers:—to withdraw them from the farmers would be attended with a serious inconvenience to that class of men;—this inconvenience must therefore be avoided; and an order must be sent to a missionary station, ten days' journey beyond the nearest point of the colonial boundary, for the number required. It might have been a serious inconvenience to have withdrawn the Hottentots from the farmers, and it might have been, for that reason, proper for the colonial government to have done without them, or to have called for the farmers' sons in their stead; but it

will require stronger reasons than I have yet heard, to satisfy me that there was either policy or equity in attempting to remedy this evil in the way proposed.

In 1814, the Griquas had their cattle and their farms, and were rising into opulence. If it was a hard thing to withdraw the Hottentots from the wretched condition they were in among the farmers of Tulbagh; it was still harder to withdraw this interesting people from the cultivation of their own farms.

The refusal of the Griquas to furnish the men required for the Cape regiment gave great offence to the colonial government; and the suspicions and irritations occasioned by this circumstance never appear to have subsided. In 1817, the missionaries sent to South Africa by the London Missionary Society were, on various pretences, detained in Cape Town; and none of those designed for the interior were, at that time, allowed to proceed beyond the limits of the colony.

While the young men intended for the interior were kept by the colonial government in a state of uncertainty at Cape Town, an individual, then the society's missionary there, called a meeting of the missionaries, in which several intemperate resolutions were drawn up, blaming the measures hitherto adopted by the society, and, at the same time, suggesting a new plan of operations, the execution of which was to depend upon himself and some other individual in the country, who was to co-operate with him. As soon as these proceedings became known, the missionaries who had joined in them were received into the favour of the colonial government.

On the arrival of the deputation of the London Mis-

sionary Society in South Africa, they found Dr. Thom appointed minister of Caledon; and the Rev. John Taylor, originally intended for Griqua Town, and Mr. John Evans, another missionary, appointed colonial ministers for Beaufort and Cradock. The Griquas amount, perhaps, to three thousand souls; they occupy a considerable extent of ground; and it being impossible for Messrs. Anderson and Helm, the only missionaries they had with them, to do them justice, the secession of Messrs. Evans and Taylor could not but be severely felt by the Griqua mission. The strength intended to recruit this mission was not only diverted from its original destination by the colonial government, but we were now prevented by the restrictive system, which had been acted upon from 1817, from sending the missionaries to this station, or, indeed, to any of the stations beyond the colony. The views of the colonial government respecting Griqua Town began now to become more apparent, although they were still but imperfectly seen by me. Colonel Bird, in a conversation in the colonial office, having again introduced the subject respecting the wishes of the government that the mission should be recalled from Griqua Town, I then expressed it as my opinion that the people would not accompany them; and that it was certainly much better that those people should have missionaries than that they should be without them.

In 1819, a fair was established at Beaufort, for the mutual benefit of the colonists and the savage tribes beyond the colony. An institution of this nature indicates a considerable advance in civilization; and the establishment of this fair may be appealed to as an answer to the objections made against our missions.

The institution of this fair speaks volumes. For whom was it instituted? It was instituted for the Griquas, a people who, a few years before, were naked savages! Who were the dealers at this fair? The principal, or, I may say, the only dealers at this fair were the Griquas. At the first fair, the business done by that people amounted to twenty-seven thousand rix-dollars; and on most of the goods sold to the Griquas by the colonists, the latter had a profit of from two hundred to five hundred per cent.

In 1820, a second fair was held; and the following extract of a letter from Beaufort, dated May 4, 1820, will furnish some idea of the change which had taken place among the Griquas from the time the missionaries went among them:—

"The second Beaufort fair terminated as successfully as the first. The Bastaard Griquas and Corannas, under the chiefs Chaka and Matlanka, altogether about two hundred in number, reached this on the 23d ult., with twenty-seven waggons, loaded with elephants' teeth, salt, skins of all sorts; wheat, honey, and various curiosities; driving before them upwards of seven hundred oxen. On the 25th the fair began, and continued until the 2d instant, when the whole broke up, and the colonial traders and those from the interior separated, highly satisfied with the mutual fair dealing and confidence which had prevailed throughout; of which, as well as of the peaceable manner of them all, I was an eye-witness, and am happy to give the most unequivocal testimony. It was particularly striking on the part of the strangers, who, though they can be only considered in a great measure as savages, vied with the colonists in maintaining order and regularity."

It is impossible to read this official document, (for it is not the statement of a missionary, but a communication from the chief magistrate of the district to the colonial government,) and compare it with the descriptions of this people given in the beginning of this chapter, and at the same time deny missionaries the credit of having been the instruments of elevating considerably the character and condition of these traders from beyond the borders of the colony. When the missionaries went among them, they were without European clothing, without a single waggon, without morals, at enmity with the colonists, making no purchases from them, and without any exchangeable commodities. This description is so far from being overcharged, that I was informed by several respectable and intelligent individuals present, that the strangers not only vied with the colonists in preserving order, but that the praise of sobriety was so decidedly on their side, as on several occasions to induce the chief magistrate present to speak of their conduct with admiration, and to point them out as examples to the colonists.

During the intervening period, between 1820 and 1825, their improvement had been considerably retarded by circumstances which will be subsequently detailed, and they had lost several valuable characters by death; and yet, notwithstanding these drawbacks, I have no hesitation in affirming, that, in point of intelligence and morals, they will bear a comparison with an equal number of the peasantry of England taken promiscuously.

Among the chiefs and a few others, I found several individuals of very respectable attainments; and I

have now letters before me from Abraham Kok, two of whose brothers are chiefs, in which the thought, the arrangement, the expression, and the hand-writing would not disgrace a person holding one of the first official situations in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

It will be recollected that Colonel Collins, in recommending, in his official report to the colonial government, that missions should be established among the Bushmen, advises the abolition of Bethelsdorp and the dispersion of the Hottentots among the farmers. The threat thrown out by Lord Charles Somerset, in his conversation with Mr. Anderson, that he would take the Griqua Hottentots, and bring them within the colony, and disperse them among the farmers,—and the subsequent conduct of the colonial government toward this mission, left us but too much reason to suspect that the advice of Colonel Collins was not to be neglected; but our suspicions were now converted into certainty by an order which issued from the Colonial Office in April, 1820, while the Griquas were at the fair of Beaufort, commanding the landdrost to raise a powerful commando; and to take all the Griquas prisoners, and bring them within the colony.

Fortunately for the Griquas, at the time this order was issued, a gentleman in the Colonial Office apprized me of the fact; and it was on this information that I drew up the following memorial, a copy of which was instantly sent to the head of the government, and another to a friend at Graaff-Reinet, to be forwarded by him to Captain Stockenstrom, the landdrost of that district, to whom the execution of the order had been confided. Had the Griquas at this time been without

a friend, the orders would have been speedily carried into effect; and the destruction of this people would have been followed by a long catalogue of calumnies invented to justify the atrocious deed, and by a list of favours and promotions to the gallant individuals who had by their bravery rid the colony of this *dangerous* and *rebellious* horde of savages. The circumstance of having issued this order at the time the people were at a fair within the colony, at which they were the principal traders, and to which they had been invited by the very government which had issued the order, will not escape notice.

"*To his Excellency* GENERAL SIR RUFANE SHAW DONKIN, K.C.B., *Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and its Dependencies, Commander of the Forces, &c. &c.*

"The Memorial of JOHN PHILIP, one of the deputation of the London Missionary Society,

"Humbly sheweth,

"That although the missionary station at Griqua Town has not yet answered the expectations of the colonial government, there is nothing in the circumstances of that mission which may not yield to the persevering labours of an able missionary, possessed of the qualifications necessary in the present critical situation of that mission. The history of the noted Namaqua Chief, Africaner, affords a striking illustration of the civilizing effects of Christian missions, and of the advantages which the colony may derive from a few well-regulated missions immediately beyond its limits.

"Tribes in a savage state are generally without houses, gardens, and fixed property: by locating them

on a particular place, getting them to build houses, inclose gardens, cultivate corn land, accumulate property, and by increasing their artificial wants, you increase their dependence on the colony, and multiply the bonds of union and the number of securities for the preservation of peace.

"While savages continue in the hunting state, and are without other means of subsistence, they will sometimes be three or four days without food. If, in this starving condition, they are hovering upon the borders of the colony, it is not to be supposed that they will abstain from taking what comes in their way, to allay the cravings of hunger, and preserve life.

"The farmer finds his cattle missing, but he has no means of detecting the thieves; they have fled to the bushes, or to some distant part, where they cannot be pursued. If, on the other hand, persons who have been located on a particular place, injure the colony, it is known where to find them; every house they build, every garden which they inclose, and every acre of corn-land which they cultivate, are so many securities for their peaceable conduct towards the colony. They are aware that the place of their abode is known; they have now a large stake to lose; their houses, their gardens, their fields, their families, their country, may all be lost by provoking a quarrel with the colonial government.

"While the Romans found the south-east parts of Britain, where the people cultivated the ground, built good houses, and possessed fixed property, quiet and peaceful, they were constantly harassed by the pastoral and hunting tribes, who were continually making inroads upon the colony, from the woods, the mountains, and

fastnesses, where they sheltered themselves from their pursuers, and enjoyed unmolested the fruit of their predatory incursions.

"Without the restraints of law and justice, and without any serious occupation, barbarous tribes, to use the language of a philosophical writer, have no aliment for their inquietude but wars, insurrections, convulsions, rapine, and depredation.

"The extirpation of the Griquas is impracticable: before any commando could cross the Orange river, the people would be beyond its reach; immediately the commando retired, they would return to their old place, join themselves to such a man as Conrad Buys, disperse themselves in hostile bands among the neighbouring tribes, attach to themselves the wandering savages beyond the limits, and bring war upon the colony, from the mouth of the Kieskamma to the mouth of the Orange river, upon the western shores of Africa. In a very short time, your Excellency would see all the present traces of civilization among these tribes obliterated; every way into the interior obstructed; and the thinly-scattered population on the extended frontier of this colony kept in constant terror and alarm. Necessity is the most powerful law of nature, and those that escape in a general proscription frequently find resources of annoyance in the thirst of revenge, that compensate for any deficiency occasioned by the diminution of their numbers. Let the Griquas be raised to the agricultural state, put them in possession of fixed property, of good houses, and cultivated fields, you will soon bring them to observe treaties, render it impossible for them, as now, to escape the vigilance of your troops, and convert them into useful allies and friends.

"By the conduct of an able missionary, who may have the address to attach the people to their interests, and to introduce better order among them, it is humbly conceived by your Excellency's petitioner that all these evils may be prevented, and the people who are the occasion of the present alarm may, in a short time, and in an eminent degree, be rendered serviceable to the general peace and prosperity of the colony.

"Mr. Anderson, our missionary from Griqua Town, is a man of high integrity, but Mr. Anderson himself acknowledges that another might succeed in those particulars in which he has failed. It is hoped that your Excellency will allow the experiment to be made, and authorise your Excellency's petitioner to substitute, in the room of Mr. Anderson, a missionary possessed of the qualifications necessary. And your Excellency's petitioner will ever pray."

As a corroboration of my sentiments on this subject, I am happy to avail myself of the following extract, from a letter by John Melvill, Esq., the government agent at Griqua Town, to the colonial government:—

"It is not uncommon to talk of this people (the Griquas) with contempt, and to say the farmers could at any time put an end to them; but those who speak in this manner are ignorant of the nature of the country and the character of the people. A great part of them are provided with fire-arms and horses, and have a sovereign contempt of danger. They despise the farmers. They are all sharp shooters, and accustomed to bush-fighting. They are well acquainted with the country, and, flying before a powerful commando, they could weary them out; and, while they were

harassing them in their retreat, they could spare a sufficient number of men to retaliate on the families and cattle kraals of the farmers absent on the commando. They would not only have their own strength, but, by their influence on other tribes, Bechuanas, Corannas, and Bushmen, would be brought into a state of hostility against the colony.

"They would have it in their power, by watching proper opportunities, to supply themselves with ammunition; and might, at times the least expected, carry terror and distress into every part of the frontier, from the Tarka to the mouth of the Orange river. This is not a groundless assertion; I have had the best possible opportunities of forming an opinion on this subject, and such means of judging as cannot be afforded to any person resident in the colony, and who must judge more from report than from actual observation."

With the recollections of the Griquas fresh on my mind, the bare thought of the bloodshed and misery to which the execution of this order must have given rise, even now appals me with horror. Independent of the re-action it must have produced upon the colony, and the scenes to which it must have given rise beyond the frontier, it is impossible to reflect upon the advanced state of civilization among the Griquas at that time, and the character of that slavery to which they were to be doomed, and not ask the question—What had the people done to deserve this fate?

I have been informed, that the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, on receiving this order, in his reply to the colonial government, actually put that question to the government; and replied to it himself by stating, that they had done nothing; they had committed no injury

upon the colony! Whether Captain Stockenstrom made this communication to the colonial government or not, it is, nevertheless, an incontrovertible fact, that the people never had done the slightest injury to the colony; and that the services they had rendered to the colony had been invaluable.

Many of the Griquas were then in the possession of considerable property, and were, in point of intelligence and cultivation, equal to a large proportion of the farmers within the colony; and those people were not only to be stripped of their property, but to be reduced to a state of slavery more oppressive than the condition of the common slaves; and, in many cases, they must have been placed in that state, under men in every point their inferiors, and for no cause but this, that the colonists wanted servants.

On whatever principle the order for the capture of the Griquas might have been issued, it is but justice to the acting governor to state that it never was executed. I know that if Sir Rufane Donkin erred in the issuing of this order, it was not from bad feeling; I never found him inaccessible to the appeals of humanity; and the true character and tendency of this plan in regard to the Griquas was no sooner laid before him, than the cruel and obnoxious order was recalled.

CHAPTER V.

Appointment of Mr. Melvill as a political agent at Griqua Town. —Jealousies and Dissensions.—The Bergenaars.—Their barbarous conduct towards the Native Tribes.—Bechuana Refugees. —Description of a Party of them met by the Author at the Cradock River.—Journal.—Arrival at Philippolis.—Meet with more Bechuanas.—Arrival at Rama.—Colonial Traders.—Alexander River.—Interview with the Bergenaars.—Arrival at Griqua Town.—State of the People.—Anecdote of one of the Chiefs.—General Convocation of the Tribe.—Resolutions passed at it.

On the failure of the scheme detailed in the preceding chapter, it was resolved by the colonial government to fix a political agent at Griqua Town.

When I was consulted on the subject, I stated that the plan should have my cordial approbation, provided the people were to be treated as colonists, and the agent was to be invested with the authority of a landdrost, to enforce the laws which might be given them by the government; but I objected to the appointment of an agent, without the means of enforcing the regulations of the colonial government, on the following grounds:—I conceived that such an appointment might awaken those jealousies for which they had had too much reason; that it would destroy their confidence in each other, and create disunion; that the agent of government would be in danger of identifying himself with a party; that this might give rise to troubles he would not have the means of repressing; that the disaffected party, seeing he was not supported by the

arm of government, would be emboldened by his weakness; that civil broils were likely to arise out of these circumstances; and I foresaw that the colonial government might make use of the confusion thus excited, as a pretext for seizing the people, and placing them within the colony in the condition of the Hottentots, a condition worse than that of the common slaves.

After some delay, John Melvill, Esq., formerly government surveyor and inspector of public buildings in Cape Town, was appointed to fill this new situation. When this nomination was communicated to me by the colonial government, I stated in reply that my sentiments were unaltered in regard to the nature of the appointment; but as the government had determined upon it, I considered Mr. Melvill as the fittest man the government could have selected to fill the office. This appointment is dated the 21st of March, 1822.

The arrival of Mr. Melvill at Griqua Town, as government agent, was the occasion of considerable apprehension; the fears of the better part of the people, however, soon subsided; but a small party disclaimed the authority of the agent, and removed from the district governed by the Griqua chiefs. The secession of this party, not more, originally, than ten in number, and consisting of the worst characters among the Griquas, would have been no loss to the society at large, nor could they have done much evil had they met with no countenance; but as the enemies of the mission were powerful, and used every means to support them, they were shortly joined by some tribes of Corannas, and others of a more dangerous character. Their camp was now visited by numbers of colonists with waggons loaded with British and colonial produce, with guns and

gunpowder, and brandy; which were exchanged for the plunder brought from the interior by these renegadoes.

Mr. Melvill now called for assistance to put down this gang, who were renewing, on the borders of the colony, all the horrors of the slave-trade; but the matter was treated as an affair among the Griquas themselves, with which the colonial government declined interfering.

For the further elucidation of this subject, I have copied the following extracts from an official letter of Mr. Melvill's to the colonial government, dated 17th December, 1824:—

"After a short residence at Griqua Town, I suggested to the colonial government such measures as appeared necessary to secure my influence, and prevent the bad effects that might arise from the jealousy excited by my appointment. With the exception of Waterboer and his adherents, the people were in general suspicious that I was sent to bring them into subjection to the colony, and that their children would be enlisted as soldiers, or forced into the service of the farmers. After explaining the reasons of my coming among them, they became more friendly, their suspicions were dying away, and they began to enter into my views, under the idea that I had come to do them good, and that my residence among them would be the means of removing certain restrictions with regard to their intercourse with the colony. A few bad characters left Griqua Town, and went to live in the mountains near the borders of the colony. But this would have been no loss to the place if people of good character had gained any advantages or privileges by my being among them: but this was not the case; on the con-

trary, they were placed in worse circumstances than before; and the people, seeing that I could do nothing for them, began to suspect that I was not appointed by government. My influence was, by this means, weakened; and Waterboer, who was exerting himself to carry into effect the resolutions approved of by government, for the same reason felt his power gradually decline.

"A number of disaffected people now began to leave the country to join the *Bergenaars*, or Mountaineers, (as the disaffected party were called,) who were getting from the colonists what the Griquas attached to the government could not obtain.

"The Bergenaars, emboldened by the unsuccessful attempts of the chiefs against them, and finding that the chiefs were not supported from the colony, began to renew their efforts to induce other Griquas to join their party. Several persons, subject to the old chiefs, and some Corannas from under Waterboer, were now united to them; and, obtaining ammunition from the colony, they commenced plundering the Bechuana tribes, and brought away an immense number of cattle*.

"Since that time numbers have joined them, and their party is every day strengthening. They reside within a few hours' ride of the colony; have constant intercourse with the colonists; and are carrying on depredations among the native tribes, by which thousands of these wretched people are compelled to wander about in quest of subsistence, and, more desperate than the wildest Bushmen, are under the necessity of plundering others, or perishing of hunger.

* Of these circumstances the government, as well as the landdrosts of the frontier districts, were informed.

"Nothing can be more dreadful than the depredations committed by this lawless horde on the Bechuana tribes: hundreds of these tribes have been murdered, and thousands reduced to misery and want.

"Abraham Kok sent Isaac Kok, with his waggon, within the limits (of the colony), and, on coming back, the Mountaineers got him into their hands, and kept him nine days; he then made his escape. This man says, that they every day killed some of the Caffers (meaning the people of the plundered tribes). Bastaards, from every part of the colony, came to them; of powder and lead, guns, horses, and brandy, they get enough, from bastaards and farmers, for cattle and men (Caffers); that is, the people of the plundered tribes, according to this account, are exchanged for these articles."

The following brief narrative is copied from the same official document from which the preceding extracts have been taken:—

"This unfortunate man (the chief of the Bashootoo tribe, now in Cape Town) relates, that his town was unexpectedly attacked by a large party of men on horseback. Being a people they had never seen before, and not knowing the destructive nature of their weapons, the Bashootoos attempted to defend themselves; but, seeing great numbers of their people falling down dead, and the enemy, in spite of all they could do, driving away their cattle, they at last gave way, and ran off in all directions, leaving nearly all the cattle in possession of the plunderers.

"Some time after this, while removing to another part of the country, where they hoped to be more secure, the same kind of people were discovered coming

towards them. In a state of despair at the prospect before them, the chief desired his people to sit down, and said, 'We shall all now be killed.' The enemy then approached within thirty yards of them, and halting, asked them whether they would fight; to which the Bashootoos replied, 'No! come and take us all away with you.' They were then desired to put away all their spears, which they did; when the enemy, dismounting, came in among them, and selected out such of the boys as were strong enough to go with them. While they were thus employed, four white men, different from the rest of the plunderers, joined the party, and, having collected all the boys, they carried them away*.

"Leaving a few people to take care of them, the party proceeded to attack another town in the neighbourhood, and they succeeded in taking away a great many cattle. They then returned to the spot where the boys were, and carried them off. On being asked whether the parents of the boys made any resistance, or cried, when the children were taken from them, the chief said, they were all too much terrified to speak. One woman, however, resisted when one of the band attempted to drag her away; which so enraged the cruel wretch, that he took an infant from her back, and murdered it by dashing it against the ground†. Having only a few cattle left to subsist upon, many of them, rather than starve, ventured to follow the track of their plunderers, in the hopes of getting something to eat; others said, they would not go to live with the people

* Could these be any other than colonists?

† The mother is now at Griqua Town.

who had reduced them to so much misery. When those who followed the plunderers arrived near the place where the Bergenaars live, they were met by some people of the plundered tribes, who were returning to their country, and who reported that the Bergenaars would kill them if they went on. Upon hearing this, many hundreds went back again. The king says, those that remained behind would be reduced to the condition of wild Bushmen, or find a subsistence by stealing from other tribes."

In 1824, it was reported in Cape Town, and circulated over the colony, that in consequence of the failure of the harvest among the Bechuanas, numerous hordes of that people were coming daily into the colony in quest of bread, and that the farmers had relieved them; and that they had written to government, requesting to know whether they were to continue to allow them to come into the colony, and how they were to be provided for. By whom these communications were made, and what answers were sent to them, is not a matter of importance; but, some time after these reports had been in circulation, a proclamation was published in the Cape Town Gazette, containing some instructions to the local authorities respecting this people, and, at the same time, praising the farmers for their great humanity towards them.

On my late tour, in August 1825, I first came into contact with this people, in that part of the district of Graaff-Reinet which lies between the Sneeuwbergen (Snow Mountains) and the limits of the colony. I have seldom seen a finer race of people; the men were generally well made, and had an elegant carriage; and many of the females were slender, and extremely grace-

ful. I could see at once, from their step and air, that they had never been in slavery. They had an air of dignity and independence in their manners, which formed a striking contrast to the crouching and servile appearance of the slave.

They keep their heads cropped, leaving a tuft of hair upon the crown. Some of the men wore ostrich feathers; and others I observed with a wild-crane's feather, fixed on the head in an oblique direction to the forehead, which derived a motion from their carriage rather graceful.

They were of a bronze colour, and had more of the European countenance than any people I had before seen on the south side of the line. The men had generally a ring in one ear; the women had rings in both; and both sexes wore short strings of small beads, attached to the tuft of hair on the crown of the head, and disposed in a fanciful manner over the forehead, or hanging loosely on the temples.

The men use the Caffer caross; but they do not, like the Caffers in the neighbourhood of the colony, appear in public uncovered. Those parts which nature teaches us to conceal were covered with a piece of white leather, supported by a leather thong tied round the loins; and the whole dress was contrived so neatly, that there was nothing in their appearance that could have given offence to the most refined delicacy.

The farmers acknowledged to me that they made most excellent servants; that they had been accustomed to labour in their own country; and that they took a pleasure in working.

We have seen that this people have been represented as entering the colony of their own accord, and as

coming to the farmers and soliciting employment and bread, and that the farmers have been praised for their humanity in relieving them. We must now hear the account they give of themselves. Those of them with whom I conversed stated to me, that they came from the sources of the Great River (Gariep); that their country was a moon's distance from the colony; that they were eating the bread of peace; that they were a numerous people; that they were employed in cultivating their gardens and corn-fields, unsuspicious of danger, when a people (called Bergenaars) riding upon horses, and with fire-arms, came upon them and killed many of them, and took away all their cattle and many of their children.

On the first appearance of the invaders, they assembled, and attempted to defend themselves and their property; but finding that they were attacked by a people who commanded the thunder and lightning, they abandoned themselves to despair, and took refuge in the rocks and the bushes, leaving their enemies to carry away all that they could not take with them in their flight. After recovering from the consternation in which they had been thrown by the suddenness and the nature of the attack which had been made upon them, many of them found that they had lost their children; and that all had been deprived of the means of subsistence by the loss of their cattle. They resolved to follow their plunderers, in the hope of recovering their children and their lost property.

The more effectually to conceal themselves, and to secure their object, they generally travelled under the cover of night; and coming into the colony, in quest of their property and their children, they had been detained by the boors.

On our arrival at the Cradock branch of the Great Orange river, on the 17th of August, we met a family of this people. They were in the service of the boor on whose place we halted for the night; and, the moment our waggons stopped, the men came running to us with reeds and bushes to make a fire for us. This family consisted of one man, his wife, his wife's mother, two sons, two daughters, and one son-in-law. I had in my train a young man who was a native of Lattakoo; and, when they found out there was a person in our company who understood their language, and could talk to them, they were quite in raptures. I think I never saw two finer figures than the father and the eldest son. They were both above six feet; and their limbs were admirably proportioned. The father had a most elegant carriage, and was tall and thin; the son, a lad about eighteen years of age, was equally well proportioned, and had one of the finest open countenances that can possibly be imagined. The second son was inferior in stature, but he had a fine countenance also; and, while they indulged in all their native freedom, animated by the conversation of my Bechuana, or began to tell the story of their misfortunes, expressing the consternation with which they were seized when they saw their children and parents killed by an invisible weapon, and their cattle taken from them, they became eloquent in their address; their countenances, their eyes, their every gesture, spoke to the eyes and to the heart. I was very much struck at seeing how suddenly they could suffer their feelings to be excited, and how suddenly they could pass from the expression the recollection of their misfortunes had produced to gayer subjects and a lighter manner.

Having spent a few hours with these Bechuanas, standing by the fire they had kindled for us, one of my travelling companions began to talk to them, by the assistance of our Bechuana. We could not discover that they had any ideas of religious worship. They had some confused notions of an invisible agency; but they had no rational idea of a Supreme Being, nor of a future state. We began to convey to them some notion of the Christian belief; and they paid very great attention to all that was said, and several times remarked, "These things are all new to us; we never heard any thing of the kind before." The Bechuana, who was our interpreter, is a gay young fellow, always laughing and talking, and in every place which we visited, a general favourite. Religion, at that time, had no visible power over him, but he acknowledged its importance, and had acquired some acquaintance with its doctrines. On this occasion, in addition to what was said to him, he added his own remarks; and he was very eloquent in his manner, and spoke as if he really felt the force of what he was saying. When he came to declaim upon a state of future happiness and punishment, the countenances of the strangers expressed great astonishment; one or two deep sighs escaped from them; and when he pointed to the fire, and spake of the wicked being consigned to everlasting burnings, the old man was startled, and sighed. When Marootze, the interpreter, had done talking to them, they retired very serious and apparently very much affected. Turning his back on the fire as he went away, the old man murmured aloud, "Do the people who killed my children, and took away my cattle, believe those things?"

The females of this family had not made their appearance at our waggons; and when we paid a visit to them next morning, we were very much struck with their fine figures, and the dignified and easy manner with which they received us. Their countenances and manners discovered marks of cultivation, accompanied with an air of superiority, which at once marked the class of people to which they belonged, and which, under other circumstances, would have been admired in an English drawing-room. The youngest daughter, apparently about fourteen years of age, bore a strong resemblance to her eldest brother. When we approached their huts, she was holding a pack ox while her father loaded it. She had a caross wrapped round her middle, so as to resemble a petticoat; no part of her body was uncovered excepting the bosom; and so exquisite was her modesty, that on our coming near her, she blushed, and by this and other indications discovered so much pain, as to convince us of the cause of her uneasiness, and to make it necessary for us to turn aside to spare her feelings.

Next morning, the 18th, we crossed the Cradock river, or Nu-Gariep. The former name was given to it by Mr. Campbell, out of respect to Sir John Cradock (now Lord Howden,) who was then governor of the colony: the latter is the native name. The bed of the river, where I crossed it, is capacious; and it was evident that it at times overflowed all its banks, but the water was low on this occasion; and I saw nothing in the river itself, nor in the scenery about it, which merited any particular description.

On the same evening we arrived at Philippolis, a

missionary station, which was begun at the recommendation of the Rev. A. Faure, then minister of the Dutch church at Graaff-Reinet, with a view to civilize the Bushmen in that district.* The site of this mission is about five hours' journey with a waggon from the ford; the valley in which it is placed is beautiful; but there is not a sufficiency of water to irrigate enough of land to enable a large body of people to support themselves by gardening and agriculture. We found several Bushmen belonging to the station, receiving instructions; but the pleasure we experienced on visiting it arose more from the hope of what might be done, than from any thing which had as yet been effected. Mr. Clark, a European, who had accompanied me from the colony, has now the superintendence of this mission, and by the blessing of God upon his labours, I hope soon to hear of its prosperity.

At this station the reports I had heard of the nefarious traffic of the Bergenaars were confirmed. The ford I had lately crossed, was that by which they kept up their chief communication with the colony. They had taken possession of the greater part of the fountains in the neighbourhood; and at those fountains they were in the habit of collecting their stolen cattle, previous to their being driven across the river. When their different hordes were got together, a signal was made, and they soon found plenty of traders to relieve them of their booty. In their plundering expeditions

* It was at this station, under Mr. Clark, that I left Uithaalder, the chief of Toverberg, with his family. In a letter lately received, Mr. C. gives a pleasing account of him. See the APPENDIX.

they seldom made prisoners of females above twenty years of age, and the boys they took seldom exceeded fourteen or fifteen years. The stolen cattle were exchanged in a regular manner; but they generally had recourse to a certain degree of finesse, when the traffic had a relation to human beings. The purchaser, after examining the person he wished to have, was in the habit of spreading before the seller a certain quantity of gunpowder or other articles. When the seller was satisfied with the price, he had to thank the purchaser, and pretend to make him a present of the boy or girl for whom he had expressed a predilection.

After what I had heard and witnessed of the effects of this dreadful system, and seeing no prospect of its being terminated by any active enterprise on the part of those whose duty it was to have prevented it, or to have checked it at its commencement, I addressed a letter from the station to the acknowledged chief of the Bergenaars, requesting him to meet me with the people on the Alexander river. The place at which I had appointed them to meet me, might be about eighty miles from Philippolis. The messenger I despatched on this occasion was acquainted with the party. He went on horseback, and after an absence of some days, he returned and informed me that he had found them nearly fifty miles above that part of the river, at which I had proposed to meet them; and that I might expect to meet the chief and as many of the men at the place of rendezvous, as could conveniently attend.

On the afternoon of the 22d, three young women made their appearance in a very desert place, at a little distance from the waggons. When we first discovered

them, the dogs were barking at them, and they were making signs to us soliciting our protection. The youngest appeared to be about thirteen years of age; the second about nineteen, and the eldest might be about twenty. They were of a copper colour, and had nothing of the negro countenance. The youngest was a very good looking girl, and the eldest was not deficient in attractions; but the second exhibited an appearance still more peculiar than either of the other two. Besides the elegance and air of superiority for which the families of the chiefs of this people are distinguished, nature had bestowed upon her a peculiar delicacy of form, and her countenance exhibited a sensibility, and what I should have called, in a European female, an expression of mind and culture, quite incompatible with the notions Europeans are accustomed to entertain of the natives of Africa.

On hearing their story, I found they belonged to the same tribe we have already described. All the people of this description we had seen, came from the same quarter; and what gave us a very favourable opinion of their veracity, they all agreed in their statements.

From the manner in which I observed the most interesting of those females fondling a child, and dropping a few tears upon its cheeks, I expressed to one of our party, that I was confident she was a mother; and I called our interpreter, that I might ascertain whether I was correct in my conjectures. In reply to the inquiries suggested by this circumstance, she related to us the following particulars, connected with her history. She stated, that her father was a chief; that he was killed by the Bergenaars; that she had been married

to the son of a chief some time before the destruction of her people; that she was extremely happy with her husband; that he was killed at the same time that her father was killed; that she had at that time a child about two moons old; that she and her child were carried away by the Bergenaars; and that along with her child and her two companions, she was given to persons who treated them very ill. That they had taken her child from her, and that when they met us, they were fleeing from those people who had used them so cruelly, with the intention of returning to their own country. Had they not chanced to be crossing our path at the time they came in contact with our waggons, they might have escaped from their oppressors, but it must have been by finding refuge in that place where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest; their country and their remaining kindred they never could have reached.

I could not help wishing, at the time, that the abettors of slavery had been present, who deny that such people have the same sensibility as Europeans, under such misfortunes. After I had ordered them to get what refreshment our situation could afford, and a few articles of clothing, I committed them to the care of the person who had the charge of the people who were with me, till such time as I could make some provision for them at some of the missionary stations.

On the evening of the 24th of August, we reached Rama, a place which had for some time enjoyed the labours of a native teacher. On our arrival at this place, we were informed that it was surrounded with lions, and the people informed us that they were frequently kept awake the whole night by their roarings;

so that we could not allow our cattle to go loose, and expect to find them in the morning. In every country, whatever has the greatest influence on the hopes and fears of human beings, must always be with them an engrossing subject; and it is as natural for an African to talk of their powerful and dreaded enemies the lions, as it was for an Englishman, some years ago, to talk of Buonaparte and his threatened invasion.

When we had got ourselves comfortably seated in our tents, Captain Boezak (the Hottentot Captain who had accompanied me from Theopolis) began to entertain us with some accounts of lion hunts in which he had been engaged; and the situation in which we were now placed gave such an interest to his details, that we were kept listening for several hours, without any abatement of attention, or any inclination to retire to rest. There is something truly noble in the lion hunt, and I have never known one, who was fond of that dangerous pastime, that did not speak of it with enthusiasm.

Between twelve and one o'clock in the morning we retired to rest, under an impression which was not likely to make us inattentive to the first alarm; but we had no disturbance from the lions, excepting what arose from our apprehensions. This circumstance is no impeachment of the veracity of the persons who dwelt upon the spot, and who had given us that information: the lions are known to be alarmed at fire, and there having been much vivid lightning during the night, it is probable that their stillness arose from that circumstance.

When we arose in the morning, we found our waggons surrounded by Bechuanas, who, like the others we had before met, had come into that part of

the country, in quest of the children and cattle which had been taken from them by the Bergenaars. They had been disappointed in the object of their pursuit; their children and their cattle were not to be recovered; and, stripped of their property and children, they had no inducement to encounter the dangers attendant on a return to their own country; but they were at this time in the service of two families from Griqua Town, by whom they allowed they were treated with kindness.

27*th.* This morning I experienced an instance of the protecting care of Providence, calculated to excite thankfulness and inspire confidence. Sitting in my tent at breakfast, while my Bechuana interpreter was amusing himself with a loaded gun, unseen by me, the gun went off by accident, and the ball passed over my head. When I went to the door of my tent, to ascertain the cause of this occurrence, I observed the poor lad, uncertain of my fate, standing motionless, and almost petrified with fear and horror. Having gently reproached him for trifling with a loaded gun, a practice for which he had before been frequently reproved, I ordered the gun to be taken from him, remarking, that I had always been in greater danger from my friends than from my enemies.

From Rama, to the place where I had appointed to meet the Bergenaars, is a distance of about fifty miles, over one of the most dreary districts in Southern Africa; and we were informed that we should find no water till we should arrive within a few hours journey of the Alexander river.

Being supplied with fresh oxen, accustomed to the road, and with relays sent to meet us by the chief Adam Kok, we travelled at a rate of not less than

four miles an hour. It may seem ridiculous to boast of such speed in England; but we have not English roads and English mail-coaches in Africa. On our arrival at the only watering-place upon the road, we found two waggons from the colony. The proprietors had gone to rest in their waggons, and they did not show themselves to us during the few hours that we halted at this place. We could not at first account for this circumstance; but the mystery was soon explained to us by my Bechuana interpreter, who came up and informed me that he had found eighteen or twenty Bechuanas, at a little distance from one of the waggons, who were accompanying them into the colony. From the Bechuanas we learned, that the proprietors of the waggons were *Smouses* (traders), and that they had been several weeks among the Bergenaars, carrying on a contraband trade with that people.

On the 28th, on my arrival at the Alexander river, I found the leaders of the Bergenaars, and between thirty and forty of their people, waiting for me. They were soon after joined by a number of Corannas, who had been united with them in their plundering expeditions.

I spent two days among them, reasoning and remonstrating with them on the iniquity of their practices, and on the consequences which were likely to follow from a continuance in them. They were far from appearing such hardened monsters as might have been expected by those conversant only with the annals of English depravity. In reasoning with a people of their description, on deeds of atrocity, you have an advantage over them by the novelty of your argu-

ments, which is lost upon those who have had to overcome the force of those arguments upon their consciences, before they could familiarize themselves to a life of crime. They ingenuously acknowledged the charges I exhibited against them; admitted the evil of the system they had been pursuing, and only slightly mentioned, in extenuation, the temptations they were under to commence and continue that system. Availing myself of their admissions, and of the temper they discovered, I now took higher ground, plied them with every topic, human and divine, that appeared to me calculated to deepen the impressions already made upon their minds; and many of them were moved to tears.

It was now necessary to propose some remedy for the evils which had entailed so many calamities on the unoffending tribes who had suffered so much from their depredations, and for the calamities which the aggressors were bringing upon themselves, by persisting in their present manner of life; and with that view, I proposed that they should meet me at Griqua Town, at a general meeting, to which the surrounding tribes were invited, when it was my intention to endeavour to settle their differences, and to lay before them some general plan for their future government.

After passing the dark and majestic Cradock, and wandering along the lonely and picturesque banks of the Yellow river, I was disappointed with the scenery about the missionary stations of Campbell and Griqua Town.

The village of Griqua Town stands on the bottom of a range of low hills, of argillaceous schistus, which bounds the prospect to the north-west. Embedded in the schistus, we found large quantities of asbestos, exhibiting a great variety of texture and colour, but it

was mostly in an indurated state; and the finest specimens of that mineral are to be found in a chain of hills of the same description, a few miles south of this place, and in the vicinity of the Orange river.

The valley in which Griqua Town stands is not without some attraction, but the pleasure the traveller has in contemplating it arises more from the contrast it presents to the appearance of the country with which it is surrounded, and to the moral associations connected with the place, than to its own natural beauty. The inhabitants of this part of Africa have no choice as to the situation in which they are to reside. Irrespectively of the aspects of the country, they must fix their abodes where they can find springs of water. The capabilities of the country, as to the population it can support, are almost entirely dependant upon the means of irrigation. The most dry and arid soil, and even sand, where the eye cannot detect a particle of vegetable mould, (if you except here and there a few ant-hills, which excite your surprise, from the situation in which they are found,) may be rendered fruitful by a stream of water. The geological characters of South and North Africa bear a strong resemblance to each other; and it is probable that it was from observing in Judea, also, the fertilizing effects of water, which we have noticed in South Africa, that the effect of the Gospel on the moral world is so frequently described by this beautiful figure. The Griquas cultivate as much ground as they can irrigate, but the springs are not sufficient to provide the means of subsistence for an increasing population, and the people are obliged to spread themselves abroad, and locate themselves where they can find water.

This is one of the greatest disadvantages the missionaries have to encounter, in the attempt to evangelize and civilize the wandering tribes of South Africa. The eye and the presence of the Christian pastor is necessary to reclaim the wandering savage, to fix the forming habits, whilst the principles of religion are yet in an incipient state, and to conduct the process of instruction among the rising generation; and these duties can be but imperfectly performed in circumstances where the sphere of one man's labour must be extended over a large tract of country. In the first centuries of the Christian world the cities were evangelized before the country; and hence the modern word, "Pagan," is derived from the *Pagani*, or people of the country villages remaining heathens, after the inhabitants of the cities and large towns had assumed the profession of Christianity.

The number of Griquas residing at this village, and the station in its vicinity, are computed to amount to about sixteen hundred souls. Those scattered among the more distant settlements, who acknowledge the authority of the chiefs Waterboer, Berands, and the Koks, may amount to about one thousand more; and the number of Coranna Hottentots living among them, or under their influence, is at least two thousand.

On my visit to this station, on this occasion, owing to a variety of causes, the principal of which have been enumerated, it was far from being in a prosperous state. Mr. Sas, the only missionary we then had at this station, was by his age and infirmities unfit for the labours of his situation; and, owing to this deficiency, and to the contentions to which the settlement of Mr. Melvill had given rise, the progress of improvement

had been arrested for some years before; and several of the people, who had at one time enjoyed the benefit of instruction, had renounced all friendly intercourse with the station, and were fast returning to their native state.

My own opinion of the change which has been effected upon the Griquas, by the labours of the mission, and of the present state of that people, has been so well expressed in the volumes of a late traveller, that I shall state it in the words of that gentleman* :—

"No slight improvement has been wrought upon the manners and character of this wild horde, by the labours of the missionaries. That much still remains to be done, is far more a subject of regret than surprise, considering the peculiar difficulties with which they have to contend, among a people so situated."

* George Thompson, Esq., author of "Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa," published in 1827. I am happy to recommend Mr. Thompson's interesting volumes to those with whom my recommendation will have any weight. On his sentiments respecting the trade of the Cape, I give no opinion; and on some other subjects there may be some slight difference between us in our sentiments. At page 152, Mr. Thompson, speaking of the Griquas, remarks that, "towards the wretched Bushmen, I found them in general animated with the same spirit of animosity as the frontier boors." Yet at page 153, he describes the conduct of Waterboer towards the tribe he had subdued by his arms as humane and generous. He pardoned the sons of the deceased chief, dismissed them with presents, and set all the prisoners, to the amount of seventy, at liberty. This is not agreeable to the system of the boors. Mr. Thompson, however, is the first traveller in South Africa who has understood, and done justice to the labours of the missionaries. This is not the only excellence of Mr. Thompson's travels: while they abound with adventures and interesting incidents, they have this rare merit—you may be assured that all his statements, so far as his own observation extended, are correct; and his pages have nothing in them to pollute the mind.

During my residence at Griqua Town, before I proceeded on my journey to Lattakoo, one of the Koks, a relation of the chief of that name, was in a dying state. Being asked some questions, in reference to the missions, he expressed himself nearly in the following terms:—"When the missionaries came among us, we were in the most degraded state. They saw much to shock them, but we took care to conceal from them our murderous thoughts, and the worst part of our conduct. When Mr. Anderson first proposed to settle among us, being asked my opinion on the subject, I said, let him come; but my motives for consenting to his proposal were, that he had a waggon, and many things I coveted, and that we should one day kill him, and I should, in that case, have a share of his property. This project was often in my mind, and I never could conceive, till I understood and believed the word of God, what kept me from effecting my evil designs. After he had wandered about with us some time, and I began to understand a little of the nature of the gospel, I frequently used to laugh at the idea of bringing men to embrace it, for I felt assured that nothing could ever prevail upon me to abandon the manner of life I then followed, or part with either of my wives. When Mr. Anderson had been between five and six years among us, God was pleased to hear his prayers, and bless his labours: several of us, at the same time, became thoughtful about our state, and we began to inquire in earnest about the salvation of our souls. We then saw the importance of giving up our wandering life, and of settling in a place where we could cultivate the earth, have our children instructed, and give up many of

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those evil practices connected with the wandering life we then led.

"When the change I have described took place, we began to see the necessity of each man having one wife only, and we were very much distressed on this point. Mr. Anderson did not lay down any particular rules to us on this subject, and he treated us with great tenderness while we were revolving the subject in our minds, and conversing about it one with another. I had then two wives—the one was a young, the other an old woman. I was for some time at a great loss how to act: I could not see it my duty to put away the old woman, and I loved the young woman, and could not put her away. After much deliberation, and after explaining my views to them, I agreed to separate myself from both till I should have more light upon the subject.

"During our separation, I supported them; and, after a short time, the young woman married, and then I took home my old woman, and there she is—(pointing to her on the floor, as he raised himself in his bed, and wiped his forehead,)—there she is attending me in my dying moments, and forgetting her own wants to supply mine. It is painful to part, but the struggle will soon be over with us, when we shall meet in our Father's home, never to part more."

From Griqua Town I proceeded to the Bechuana Town of Lattakoo, about one hundred and thirty miles farther to the northward. But I consider it best, for the sake of connexion, to relate here what passed at the general convocation of the Griquas on the 20th of September, after my return, before I give the details of my journey to Lattakoo, and my remarks on the state and prospects of that mission.

The general meeting of the Griquas and other tribes was held, according to appointment, on the 20th of September. The men assembled on this occasion, from different quarters of the country, might amount to between three and four hundred. I regret that it did not occur to me at the time to take their exact number, with a list of their names.

The first three days were spent in hearing their differences, and in endeavouring to reconcile the parties to each other. After this difficult task had been effected, in a manner which exceeded my previous expectations, a few simple regulations, congenial with their own notions, and the progress they had made in civilization and general knowledge, were proposed at a meeting of all the parties, discussed, and adopted by acclamation. At the passing of each resolution, all the men stood up, and held up both their hands. While they were yet standing, in passing the last resolution, with their hands lifted up, "That they would all unite in suppressing all commandos against Bushmen and Bechuanas, and in putting an end to the nefarious system which had been carried on by the Bergenaars," I addressed them as follows:—"Your hands are now lifted up in the presence of God and angels, before whom you have solemnly pledged yourselves that you will keep this resolution; and, if this solemn engagement is violated by you, I shall appear as a witness against you on the day of judgment."

The scene was altogether one of the most solemn and interesting I have ever witnessed; and the manner in which the people were affected, after this public expression of their sentiments, may be conveyed in the language of a Coranna chief, who exclaimed, "My

heart is glad! My heart is glad! A few days ago, when we saw each other at a distance, and did not know to what party we belonged, we were glad to creep behind the bushes. We were afraid to meet; but now we can travel over the country in peace; we have nothing to fear; we can go from house to house, and in every house meet with friends!" *

There is, no doubt, yet much to do; but much has been effected. We have got a platform, and, I hope, Providence will provide us with suitable labourers. I have often wished, since I entered the Griqua country, that the friends of missions at home could have seen what I have witnessed among this people. Instead of supposing that any talents would prove sufficient for missionaries to such a people, they would say, where are the requisite qualifications to be found? Our missionaries in this quarter have been excellent men, and very well fitted for the initial work of missionaries among barbarians; but it required an individual, at least, with more enlarged acquaintance with men and things, to carry on the process, when the people had advanced beyond first principles, and required government as well as Christian advice.

The affairs of societies, even at home, where the government depends on popular opinion, seldom go on well unless they have individuals among them much

* In this arduous business I was ably assisted by Jonathan Gleig, Esq., H. C. C. S., and Captain Warren, whom I happened to meet at Griqua Town, returning from a tour they had made to Lattakoo. Both these gentlemen took a lively interest in the state of the people who attended this public meeting, and endeavoured to impress upon their minds the importance of the measures recommended to be adopted by them.

superior to what may be called the sensible part of their community,—men to whom all parties agree to look up for advice, and under whose banner they willingly range themselves. A society, consisting of a number of sensible men, if they have no individual among them uniting in himself some real or adventitious superiority, frequently gets into parties, and falls to pieces.

The missionaries have, in general, maintained a commendable neutrality: they were afraid to interfere on political subjects, and they have maintained the good opinion of all parties; and this is so far well. But the people, having come to that state that they required a civil government, they could no longer be governed, as a body, by the laws of a Christian church; and our missionaries could go no further, and did not know how to account for their failure.

From the want of a suitable person to take the charge of this station, things had remained too long in this state, but it was now become necessary to supply this deficiency in the best way possible, without loss of time. Under the superintendence of Mr. Peter Wright, the temporal affairs of Theopolis had greatly improved; and, after my return to the colony, a proposal for him to go to Griqua Town was submitted to his consideration, and agreed to. The interest he took in the missionary station at Theopolis, the attachment of the people at that station to him, and, above all, the health of Mrs. Wright, which was then extremely precarious, weighed much against his removal; but the sacrifices required were at last cheerfully made, in the hope that his presence at Griqua Town might, by the blessing of God, lead to a better state of things. Toward the end of 1825, Mr. and Mrs. Wright reached the place

of their destination. In the course of a few months after his arrival, a visible improvement took place among all the people under the influence of his instructions; but an act of unseasonable severity on the part of Waterboer, the chief who had been supported by Mr. Melvill, revived the animosities of the Bergenaars, so as to threaten the entire destruction of this station. If the shortness of the period Mr. Wright had been at this place did not allow him time to acquire a sufficient influence over the mind of this chief, so as to prevent this rash and mistaken act of justice, his interposition has at least been the means of preserving the village and its inhabitants; and it is to be hoped, when he shall be more effectually aided by a few additional labourers, that the affairs of this mission will revive.

CHAPTER VI.

Journey to the Bechuana Country.—Interview with Bushmen.—Their agility in chasing the Game.—Berands the Griqua Chief.—Bushmen's mode of destroying Lions.—Arrival at the Kuruman Station.—Improvements introduced by the Missionaries.—Superstition of the Bechuanas.—Intelligent and humane Conduct of the Chief Mahuri.

In company with Mr. and Mrs. Melvill, who proposed travelling with me to Kuruman or Lattakoo, I left Griqua Town on the 6th of September. The country between Griqua Town and Kuruman is extremely flat, and presents very few objects to relieve the eye of the traveller. On the following day my attention was arrested by the appearance of three natives at our waggons. They were slender in their persons, extremely well made, of a light copper colour; their stature was above the middle size, and they were neatly dressed in leather pantaloons and jackets, which were made to fit tight to their shape, and showed their symmetrical forms to advantage. Their jackets had each a collar, with two buttons; they wore hats, which had been obtained from the colony; and their pantaloons were kept tight by straps which passed under the soles of their shoes. On their approach to the waggons, they entered into conversation with Mr. Melvill. After talking a few minutes together, they began to move about. I could not, at the time, say what it was in their appearance which interested me, but my attention was completely

riveted by their air and manner. While I was waiting, with some degree of impatience, for the return of Mr. Melvill to the waggons, to give me information respecting the strangers, I saw them lie down upon the ground; or, more properly speaking, I observed that they had changed their posture from a standing to a reclining one; for the change was made in such a manner, that, although I was looking at them all the time, I could scarcely say that I saw the manner in which the change was made. When they lay down and rose up, it was with so much agility, that their movements appeared as easy as if they had been beings that scarcely touched the earth. After puzzling myself for some time to find out to what nation they belonged, I was very much surprised when informed by Mr. Melvill that they were three Bushmen. I had remarked a great improvement in the appearance of the Bushmen as I receded from the borders of the colony; but I had not before met with any of that nation, not residing at the missionary stations, exhibiting so very interesting an appearance as our present visitors. On further inquiry, I found that they considered themselves as under the protection of Waterboer, chief of Griqua Town; that they had the charge of that chief's cattle; and that they had a considerable herd which was their own property. Brought up from their infancy to depend upon the chase, the Bushmen must acquire, from their manner of life and habit of body, an agility in their movements surprising to strangers on first visiting them.

I met with nothing, during my visit into the interior, separate from the great objects I had in undertaking it, which delighted me more than the sight of the Bush-

men chasing the game. When the country has suffered from long drought, the game generally collect on the sides of the rivers in great numbers. The herds, particularly, of springbucks are often so large in such circumstances, that, when pursued, they frequently impede each other in their flight. Wherever those large herds are to be found, the traveller is sure to meet with Bushmen, provided there be nothing in his appearance, or in that of his party, to intimidate them, and prevent their approach; and he may, occasionally, observe them pursuing the game with a speed surpassing the fleetness of the beautiful animals of which they are in chase. On such occasions, I have seen them approach the herd, lodge their poisoned arrows, leave the chase to solicit tobacco from us in our waggons, and again, darting off at a tangent like an arrow, overtake the frightened herd, and secure the wounded deer.

During the course of the afternoon we reached Daniel's Kuyl, the place at which Berands, one of the Griqua chiefs, then resided. Berands is a very shrewd and respectable-looking old man. His name frequently occurs, in connexion with the Griqua missions, in the communications of Mr. Anderson to the London Missionary Society; and those of my readers who are acquainted with the journals of my esteemed fellow-traveller, will recollect his name from the interesting description given by Mr. Campbell of the peaceful meeting of this chief with Africaner, after they had been for many years engaged in bitter hostilities against each other. Complimenting Berands on his humanity, on observing a kraal of Bushmen which was under his protection, he remarked, with a significant look, and with a shrug of his shoulders, "If you never do a

more meritorious action than that which you are pleased to ascribe to my humanity, I fear you will have a poor chance of getting to heaven, if you have nothing to depend upon but your good works." The reasons that he assigned for protecting the Bushman kraal were, that they kept the country clear of lions.

From the description given me of the manner in which the Bushmen, in that part of the country, kill lions, it appears that they destroy that formidable animal much more quietly and expeditiously than even the marksman of the country can dispatch him by fire-arms. In the contests of the Bushmen with the lions, the reader must not expect any thing like the prolonged struggle and noble daring which he may have elsewhere read of, or seen described in the first volume of this work, by the landdrost Sterreberg. After firing hundreds of shots, it is not necessary for the Bushman, in his own defence, to doff his kaross, and pierce the heart of his noble antagonist with an assagai or spear. He goes more quietly and safely to work. To account for the superior success of the Bushmen in those desperate affrays, we must begin our narrative by giving some account of the habits of the lion. The lion, which in many points of his character resembles the dog, differs from him in this, that his hearing is not so acute, and he is not, for that reason, easily awaked. When a lion is asleep, particularly after he has gorged himself with his prey, you may walk round about him without disturbing him; and he has this property, that, if he is awaked by any thing striking or falling upon him, he loses all presence of mind, and instantly flies off, if he is not confined, in the direction in which he happens to be lying at the time.

The wolf and the tiger generally retire to the caverns and the ravines of the mountains, but the lion is most usually found in the open plain, and in the neighbourhood of the flocks of antelopes which invariably seek the open country, and which manifest a kind of instinctive aversion to places in which their powerful adversary may spring upon them suddenly and unexpectedly. It has been remarked of the lion, by the Bushmen, that he generally kills and devours his prey in the morning at sunrise, or at sunset. On this account, when they intend to kill lions, they generally notice where the spring-bucks are grazing at the rising of the sun; and by observing, at the same time, if they appear frightened and run off, they conclude that they have been attacked by the lion. Marking accurately the spot where the alarm took place, about eleven o'clock in the day, when the sun is powerful, and the enemy they seek is supposed to be fast asleep, they carefully examine the ground, and, finding him in a state of unguarded security, they lodge a poisoned arrow in his breast. The moment the lion is thus struck, he springs from his lair, and bounds off as helpless as the stricken deer. The work is done; the arrow of death has pierced his heart, without even breaking the slumbers of the lioness which may have been lying beside him; and the Bushman knows where, in the course of a few hours, or even less time, he will find him dead, or in the agonies of death *.

* One of the keepers at Exeter Change was lately killed by a lion, from his ignorance of this peculiarity. On going into the cage of the lion and awakening him, the animal, not seeing any way of escape, instantly killed the man, whom, probably, under other circumstances, he would have caressed.

After a journey of four days from Griqua Town, we arrived, on the 10th of September, at the missionary station on the Kuruman fountain. The situation chosen for the site of the new station, and the appearance of the place, were of course the first things which attracted my attention; and I am happy to say that in both my expectations were exceeded. The scarcity of rain is a great barrier to improvement in this country, as a shower, to moisten the ground, is a rare event. The missionaries (Messrs. Hamilton and Moffat) assured me, that they had not, for five years, seen a drop of rain running on the surface of the ground, and their sole dependence for corn and vegetables is upon irrigation.

If cloudless skies and continual sunshine be favourable to happiness, the people of this country might be supposed to enjoy it in a high degree, for it is seldom that a single cloud is seen in the horizon. When we form our estimate of happiness, we seldom reflect how much of it arises from the power of contrast. Clouds and shades impart to a Bechuana a more lively idea of felicity, than sunshine and fine weather do to an Englishman.

While the missionaries resided at New Lattakoo, which is not more than nine or ten miles distant from the station on the Kuruman, with considerable labour they succeeded in bringing a small stream of water to the town; but it proved insufficient, and it was still of great importance to fix upon a spot where the requisite quantity of water might be procured. The fountain of the Kuruman rises at the bottom of a small hill, which ascends between forty and fifty feet above the level of the surrounding plains. The hill, which presents a flat surface, and the diameter of which is about three-quarters of a

mile, is composed of green stone and amygdaloid, intersected with veins of apparently crystallized quartz. The green stone is in large masses, embedded in lime; and, from the projections of the lower strata, it appears to rest upon a bed of coarse limestone. The Kuruman is the finest spring of water I have seen in Africa. Immediately at the source, and on a considerable declivity, it presents one stream, six feet in breadth, and nearly two feet in depth, rushing forth with considerable force. This body of water is joined by some smaller streams issuing from the same source; and, not more than a few hundred paces from the fountain, it spreads itself into a ford of considerable breadth, and about four inches in depth. The place chosen for the site of the institution was selected because the breadth of the valley, at that spot, affords the greatest quantity of land capable of irrigation, and it is not more than three miles below the spring. The first object of the missionaries was to cut a channel for the water; and they have now finished a ditch two miles in length, two feet in depth, and from three to five feet in breadth. This has been a very arduous, and certainly a great work for their strength. They had no assistance from the Bechuanas, who were not sufficiently impressed with the importance of the undertaking to take any part in it. Until they saw the water running into the ditch, they deemed it impossible, and treated the attempt with ridicule. But, when they saw it completed, their surprise was as great as their former scepticism; and it was amusing to see several ditches which they had dug, without the knowledge of the missionaries, immediately below the fountain, in the hope that the water would follow their spades and pickaxes up the sides of the adjoining heights. The

Bechuanas are, however, now convinced of their error; and some of them are leading out the water to make gardens and corn-fields on an inclined plane, and are very much ashamed when any one diverts himself by referring to their former attempts.

When the missionaries first undertook this work, Mateebé, the king, or principal chief, of the tribe, promised to join them with his people; but it appears that his incredulity respecting its success, and the disturbed state of the country, have hitherto prevented him from fulfilling his promise. In the beginning of June last, he was attacked and plundered of some cattle. The alarm occasioned by this circumstance, together with reports of other meditated attacks, induced him to remove from Lattakoo nearer to the Griquas, to whom, particularly to their chief, Waterboer, he looked up for assistance and protection in danger; but Mahuri, his brother, and his people, are now at the missionary station.

With very great labour, the missionaries have succeeded in erecting a neat row of houses in the bottom of the valley; to each house is attached a large garden, enclosed with a neat fence. The gardens have been laid out, by Mr. Moffat, with much taste; and, from his knowledge of horticulture, they have been stocked with a variety of seeds and edible roots. In front of the houses, and at a distance of, perhaps, forty feet, is the canal by which the water has been led out from the river. Across this water-channel is a wooden bridge, leading to each house. Within ten feet of the house is the garden, from which it is entered by a gate; and along the whole line of the fence, the space between it and the water-course is planted with willows and

poplars. After the journey we had from Griqua Town, there was something very refreshing to us in the appearance of this sequestered and pleasing spot. Mr. Gleig and Captain Warren, who had visited it only a few days before, were quite delighted with the mission-families, with their labours, and with the rising beauty of the place. Should the missions continue to prosper in this place, and the same spirit of improvement which Mr. Moffat discovers continue to manifest itself, it will, in the course of a few years, when the plantation is a little further advanced, present a very pleasing object to the African traveller.

On Sunday, the 11th, I attended public worship. Mr. Hamilton preached in the morning, and Mr. Moffat catechized a few young people in the afternoon. We had service in English and in Dutch besides.

The attendance of the Bechuanas was small: they do not yet see the importance of eternal things. There were not more than forty of them present; but I was told that even this attendance is much greater than it formerly was, when all the people resided together. The females are much more averse to the change than the men: they appear to be much more strongly wedded to their superstitions, and, generally speaking, they not only refuse to attend worship themselves, but do all in their power to prejudice the minds of the men, and to detain them from attending the preaching of the gospel. The missionaries at this station can hardly be said to be doing more than labouring in hope, yet, discouraging as circumstances are, considerable ground has been gained.

Mr. Moffat is now able to address the Bechuanas in their own language. He has prepared some school-

books for their instruction, which, together with some parts of the holy scriptures, have been printed in England, and are, by this time, in the possession of the missionaries and the people. The attendance and attention of the people are increasing.

Superstition is a natural growth of human nature in every climate, and in every soil; and in the absence of divine revelation, the most polished nations and the most powerful minds have not been able to shake themselves free from its delusions and terrors. When we look at the page of history, we observe the movements of armies hastened or delayed, battles lost or won, kingdoms preserved or overthrown, by the hopes or terrors infused into the minds of generals and armies, by an eclipse of the sun, a flight of birds, or an appearance in the entrails of a beast.

The different superstitions in the world have one common origin: they spring from confused ideas of an invisible agency. The elegant mythology of the Greeks, and the more vulgar superstition of the tribes of Africa, may be traced to the same source; and as the former maintained its influence till it fell before the light of Christianity, we have no reason to expect that the latter will die a natural death, or by other means.

In mentioning the following instances of Bechuana superstition, it is not my intention to enumerate all the superstitions of that people. The aspects of superstition among savage or barbarous tribes are so various and so trifling, and the resemblance between between them is so great, that on knowing the superstitions of one tribe, all is known that is worth the relating. Everything in a state of ignorance, which is not known, and which is involved in mystery, is the

object of superstitious veneration, where second causes are unknown, and invisible agency is substituted in their places. My only object in adverting to that subject at present, is to show the influence which the instructions of the missionaries have had in this particular upon the minds of the people.

Till lately the missionaries have not been allowed to use manure for their gardens. It was formerly universally believed that if the manure were removed from the cattle-kraals, the cattle would die of a particular disease. This prejudice is now removed, at least with Mahuri and his people, and the missionaries have at present no trouble on the subject. The Rain-Makers, as they are called among Mateebé's people, used to exercise great influence over them, but that profession is no longer in public estimation.

Mateebé, reasoning with Mr. Moffat, on this subject, remarked, "If God governs the world, (and I am now disposed to admit that opinion,) he must be the Father of rain."

In the fountains in this country, there is a species of large water-snake. The Bechuanas consider these creatures *sacred*, and believe that if one of them is killed, the fountain will be dried up. An immensely large one was seen basking among the reeds near the Kuruman fountain: from the description given of it, the missionaries believed it to belong to an unknown species, and wished to procure it. When it became known that they were watching for it, an alarm was excited among the people. To quiet this alarm, Mahuri collected his people, and pointed them to the ditch the missionaries had dug for leading out the water, the buildings

they had erected, and the gardens they had inclosed, and then, remarking on the superior skill of the missionaries, asked them, "If the trouble and expense they had been at was not sufficient security that they would do nothing to injure the fountain." From the confidence the people had in the missionaries, and the progress which rational ideas had made among them, this mode of reasoning was effective.

Formerly, it was against their practice to deviate from the customs of their ancestors. When urged to plant corn, &c., they used to reply that their fathers were wiser than themselves, and yet were content to do as they did: they also regarded every innovation as an insult to the memory of their ancestors. On this visit to the Kuruman, I had the satisfaction to see Mahuri, with his people, and other Bechuanas, applying to the missionaries for seed-corn to sow on the lands then under irrigation. In reference, also, to a promise of the missionaries to plough some land, and train a span of bullocks for him, he manifested considerable pleasure. Mahuri has also adopted the European dress.

The Bechuanas, and all the Caffer tribes, have no idea of any man dying except from hunger, violence, or witchcraft. If a man die, even at the age of ninety, if he do not die of hunger or by violence, his death is imputed to sorcery or to witchcraft, and blood is required to expiate or avenge it. This sometimes gives rise to indescribable scenes of slaughter and misery. Where the person who dies a natural death has no one to avenge it, or if the person supposed to have occasioned his death is powerful, the feeling, of course,

is smothered; but on the death of chiefs or great men, those at variance with them are generally suspected, and a natural death is followed by many murders.

Peclu, the heir of Mateebé, who visited Cape Town in company with Mr. Moffat, was rather an interesting young man, of an affectionate disposition, a favourite with his parents, the people, and the missionaries. On his return to Lattakoo, he became enamoured of a young woman who was engaged to a son of one of his father's chiefs. The missionaries did what they could to dissuade him from his purpose, but in vain; and the former connexion was easily dissolved when the young chief became a suitor. A marriage followed, and Peclu died, about eight months after that event, by what is called in that country the bloody sickness. His death was the cause of great lamentation to all the people, but his parents were inconsolable. The death of Peclu was imputed to sorcery employed by the family of the chief whose son had been formerly betrothed to the young wife of Peclu. No investigation was instituted. To be suspected and found guilty amounts, under such circumstances, to the same thing; the family was to be exterminated. Mateebé consented; and Mahuri was called upon, as next brother to Mateebé, and uncle to the deceased, to become the avenger of blood. When the secret was confided to Mahuri, he expostulated with Mateebé on the cruelty and injustice of the measure; he asked him if this was all he had gained by having the missionaries so long with him. Mateebé became ashamed, and endeavoured to oppose the queen's purpose, but she was inexorable. Mateebé, therefore, still sided with her against his own convictions. Mahuri, seeing he could neither persuade his brother to resist

the importunity of the queen, nor himself decline the office, apprized the family of their danger, and they fled to a tribe of Barolongs. He followed them with his warriors, and returned and told his brother, and the people in general, that the chief and his family had found protection; that he was not in a condition to attack them; and that, if they persisted in pursuing the matter further, they must go to war with several tribes more powerful than themselves *.

Mahuri was, till lately, considered as not favourably disposed towards the missionaries, and we cannot say that he is yet converted to Christianity; but the circumstances related respecting him show a very pleasing change, and afford reason to believe that the labours of the missionaries have not been altogether in vain, and that still greater results may yet be expected from them.

* Mateebé is king, or supreme chief, of several associated clans of Bechuanas, of whom the *Batclhapees* are the predominating tribe. The name of this tribe is written by Burchell, *Batchapins*; by Campbell, *Matchapees*; and by Thompson, *Matclhapees*. I adopt the orthography of the resident missionaries, as probably the most correct.

CHAPTER VII.

Visit to the deserted Town of Lattakoo.—Its desolate appearance.—Desert of Kalleghanny.—Visit to Mateebé's Camp.—Interview with the King and his Family.—Great difference in the appearance of the Chiefs and the Common People.—Teysho and his Family.—Standard by which the People estimate presents.—Government.—Public Assemblies.

After spending some time at Kuruman, we paid a visit to Lattakoo. The site of this native town is elevated above the surrounding plain; and, in a country where towns are so scarce, it presents, at a short distance, a very agreeable object to the eye of a traveller.

The construction of a Bechuana town presents an appearance of uniformity similar to that observable in an ant-hill. The houses are all of a circular form; the roof is raised on a circle of wooden pillars, terminating in a cone; the area within the pillars is generally from twenty-five to thirty feet. A few feet within the pillars, and under the centre of the roof, is the sleeping-chamber. This apartment is fenced off by a circular wall, formed of clay; between this wall and the roof, an open space is left to admit a sufficiency of air. In the circular space, shaded by the projecting roof, between the pillars and the clay wall, the people are protected from the rays of the sun, and enjoy the benefit of the free air. Under this verandah the family receive the visits of strangers, amuse themselves, or indulge in rest, when the intensity of the heat is so great as to

prevent them from going abroad. Each house is inclosed within a wattled fence, about six or eight feet distant from the pillars, and of sufficient height and thickness to secure the privacy of those within its pale. The streets, or lanes, are all very narrow, seldom affording room for more than two persons with burdens to pass each other; and, to the eye of a stranger, they appear like a labyrinth. There was nothing in the streets, or in the houses, to offend any of the senses; everything was clean and in perfect repair.

Every trace of vegetation in the neighbourhood had been burned up by a long and severe drought;—not a blade of grass was to be seen in any direction. Mateebé and his people, like Ahab and the Israelites of old, were travelling from place to place in search of water, to preserve alive their cattle. On entering the town, I found it entirely deserted. I observed no signs of animation; not a living creature made its appearance, and I soon began to feel oppressed with the solitariness of the scene around me. The sight of a single family, left to take care of it,—a watch-dog, or even the chirping of a sparrow, would have afforded me more relief than all my philosophy could, at that time, muster. There is something awfully appalling in absolute solitude, where the bustle of civil life had once existed. In the midst of desolation, and in the absence of life and motion, it seems as if nature was about to make its exit, and that it had come to the pause which is to precede its dissolution. Standing, in such circumstances, in the midst of a deserted town, and on the borders of an interminable desert, I cannot do justice to my feelings. "I beheld, and lo, there was no man, and all the birds of the heavens had fled"!

The following description was given us, by the people at the Kuruman, of an expedition which some of them made, in their younger days, across the desert north of Lattakoo, over which I had so recently looked in vain for a single object on which the eye might repose.—They stated that they travelled two months, over sandy plains, without meeting a human being;—that, in all that journey, they did not see one spring of water;—that, when they had left the springs behind them, they found an abundance of water-melons;—that they found the juice of the melons a good substitute for water;—that, after travelling two moons, they came to a great water;—that this water was so great they could not see any thing beyond it;—that there were people living by it;—and that, on their approach, the people swam with their cattle, to a small island at a short distance from the shore. The whole relation was so minute in its details, and there was so much keeping in the accounts given by different individuals, as to give the whole an air of probability; yet, I confess, I should not have liked to have undertaken a similar journey on the faith of the narrators.

That this desert is without inhabitants is a fact that is known. Human beings being found in Africa wherever springs of water have been discovered, is a fact that renders it probable that it is without water; and that such a people should be tempted to venture into the desert, with the hope of obtaining plunder, is a circumstance not at all improbable. The only part of the story which appears at all doubtful, is that which relates to the water-melons being scattered in such abundance over that immense tract.

Travelling in Africa, we often meet with singular

instances of the bountiful and varied provision made by Providence, evidently intended for the support of animal life under circumstances of great privation; but the following circumstance leaves some doubt on my mind as to the truth of this part of the statement. The missionary Schmelin, who has, perhaps, travelled as far along the western coast of Africa, never found any such provisions in the deserts traversed by him; and, on one occasion, on the borders of the Damara country, his oxen were five days without water, and he does not speak of having found any such substitute, when the supply he had in his waggon, for his own use, was exhausted*.

Having finished my business at the Kuruman, I took leave of Mr. Hamilton, Mrs. Moffat, and her children, and, in company with Mr. Moffat, set out in quest of Mateebé and the people who were with him.

After a journey of two days, over an arid plain, at sunset we came in sight of Mateebé's camp. As we approached it, the whole scene presented to us a novel appearance. It stood upon an extensive plain, and was formed of a large circle, enclosing a number of smaller ones, at a considerable distance from each other. Between each family there was a considerable space of ground, and they were placed at equal distances from each other. The plain had been covered

* Since writing the above remarks, I find it stated by my friend Mr. Pringle, in the notes to a very interesting volume of poems which he has just published, (many of them descriptive of the peculiar scenery and native tribes of South Africa,) that he had met with some of these wild melons in the Great Karroo; and he also mentions having received information, from authentic sources, of the existence of this fruit in great abundance in the Kalleghanny desert.

with bushes of the laurel tribe, which were from eight to twelve feet in height. Each family had a bush, or rather a circle of bushes, instead of a house. The bushes which formerly occupied the ground, excepting those that were used in the manner we have described, had been cut down, and the people were using them for fire-wood. In the evening, after the cattle are collected together, the people light their fires and cook their coarse meals. It being at this hour that we approached the encampment, the blazing fires, reflected by the glossy leaves of the laurel bushes, presented, in the midst of this desert, an extremely picturesque scene.

The manner in which these circles were formed, which appeared to us, at first sight, so whimsical, we afterwards found was contrived for safety. The cattle, the only property possessed by savage tribes, and the only inducement that others could have to attack them, being lodged, during the night, in the inner circle, the enemy could not approach them on any side unobserved, and without affording the people time to fall back upon them to defend them. The outer circle forms so many points of observation, to give alarm in case of danger. When an alarm is given, the circles contract, and when they fall back to the centre, every man keeps the same relative place he occupied at the commencement of the attack. The women and children are placed beside the cattle.

After crossing several of these circumvallations, we arrived at the inner circle. Our approach being announced to Mateebé, we were waited upon by two of his state officers, and conducted to the centre of the inner circle, where we unyoked our waggons. Anxious

as the people must have been to come and look at us, such was the state of their police, that if we except the persons already mentioned, we saw none but a few children about us for some time after we had halted.

Having erected our tents, we paid our respects to the family of Mateebé, whom we found seated within a circle of bushes. The house belonging to this king (or supreme chief of the Batclhapee tribe,) which we saw at Lattakoo, was distinguished from the other houses in the town by being of larger dimensions, and possessing more conveniences about it, but on the present occasion the king was not better lodged than the meanest of his subjects. The Bechuanas are very partial to the figure of the circle. Their houses are all of a circular form; the camp was composed of a series of concentric lines; and the king and his family on this occasion formed a circular group, with a fire in the centre. They were sitting upon a turf bank, with their feet turned towards the fire. Mahoota, the queen, was upon the left hand of Mateebé; the daughters, two good-looking young women, sat next her; the sons, according to their respective ages, sat next their sisters; and a few of the royal household completed the ring. Mateebé was dressed in a pair of pantaloons, a shirt and waistcoat, with a cat-skin caross over his shoulders. By the appearance of the queen, we could perceive how much she had been indebted to the recent visit of Mr. Gleig and Captain Warren. She wore a printed cotton gown, which had not been much used, a large and rather handsome shawl, and her head was covered by a handkerchief, neatly tied behind. The young women were dressed in gowns which had probably been presented to them by travellers, or which they might

have received from the missionaries' wives; and above these, each of them wore a jackall-skin caross, which served for a covering by day, and a blanket by night. They were covered with a profusion of ornaments, which added nothing to their personal attractions.

The king and his family were not long before they returned our visit. We had not seated ourselves in our tent more than twenty minutes, when the royal family and their attendants were announced. The entrance of the king and his party was the signal to the people that they were at liberty to approach us, and the clamour we shortly heard without, satisfied us that it was not for want of inclination that they did not make their appearance sooner. Our visitors were in no haste to depart. Tea and coffee, with biscuits and preserves, were handed to them, and they appeared to be very well pleased with their entertainment. Mateebé said little: he had not yet received his presents, and his mind appeared to be engrossed with that subject.

The queen appeared to very great advantage in her English dress; and while she was not without dignity and ease, she was very communicative. The young people were very lively. The youngest son in particular, a boy apparently about nine years of age, whose countenance was marked by a pleasant and intelligent expression, gained considerably upon my affections. The anxious hour had arrived when the standard of estimation in which we were to be held, was to be decided by the presents we were to make to them; and having received the articles we had prepared for each, they thanked me, and took their departure, leaving me, after a fatiguing day's journey, to retire to rest.

In the morning, by sunrise, I was awaked by the noise of the people about my waggon. The king had received his presents, and the chiefs and their families came to see what I had to spare to them. This was the first large assembly of the people I had seen, and their appearance suggested to my mind many reflections which did not occur to me when I saw them in smaller groups, or as individuals. I was particularly struck with the difference between the appearance of the chiefs and their families, and the common people. The superior class were taller in their stature; their countenances approached nearer to the European model than those of a lower rank; their complexions were lighter; and they had an air of nobility about them which indicated that they were born to command.

From the facts which have come under my observation, I feel no hesitation in giving it as my opinion that the complexion, the form of the countenance, and even the shape of the head, are much affected by the circumstances under which human beings are placed at a very early period of existence. This opinion has been strengthened by remarking the difference between the children of Hottentots at the breast. The generality of the children of the Hottentots, among the farmers, at an early period of life, have been remarked for their timidity, and although this may be owing to neglect, and the want of suitable nutriment, I see no reason for supposing that much of it may not arise from a different and not less intelligible cause. It has been established by indubitable facts, that children may be affected before they see the light, by the sympathy which subsists between them and the mother;

and why may we not extend the rule, and admit that their original formation may be affected by the degradation and occasional terrors to which the maternal parent is obnoxious, even in a gravid state, under distressing circumstances, or while suffering corporal and degrading punishments? To whatever cause we may ascribe it, the children at our missionary institutions, when at the breast, discover none of those marks of excessive timidity. Add to the above cause, the difference between a state of freedom, and a state of abject slavery, and the effects of the civilizing process, and you find an approximation to each other between the European and African, which at once obliterates those distinctions on which those untenable theories have been founded which have been alleged in favour of slavery. In corroboration of the opinion advanced in this instance, I have had the satisfaction to remark at our missionary stations what appeared to me an improvement, not only in the countenance, but even in the shape of the head, for three successive generations.

Among the group which surrounded me on this occasion, I discovered Teysho, Mateebé's chief counsellor. Having seen him at Cape Town, he claimed the privilege of old acquaintance; and he brought his wife and two females along with him, whom I supposed to be his daughters. Teysho is a handsome man, and the *ladies* who were with him were fine-looking women, and had an air of superiority about them which showed plainly that they were conscious of the advantage of their persons and rank. Their under garments consisted of some articles of female dress, which Teysho had brought with him from Cape Town, in 1824.

Each of them had a beautiful cat-skin caross over her shoulders. The wife of Teysho had on her head a very neat hood, made of jackall's skin; and the heads of the young females who were with her were rather tastefully ornamented with shells and ostrich feathers. Their necks and arms were covered with beads, and they had several strings of them also about their waists. It was evident, from their manner, that Teysho had given his family some training, from what he had observed in Cape Town. They came up to me quite in the European style, and if their manners were not according to the first standard of good breeding, they had nothing savage, or even awkward, in their address. While others were clamorous for presents, they asked for nothing, and displayed a stateliness and reserve which distinguished them from the other females around me.

Struck with the quantity of beads and shells displayed about the persons of the females in general, I remarked to Teysho, "Your ladies at Lattakoo are very fond of ornaments;" to which the chief replied, rather piqued, "Not more so than your ladies at Cape Town." It struck me, after the remark was made, that he had supposed that there was some allusion intended to his own family, which was not, however, the case; but he did not show any signs as if he had been at all offended by it.

However much pleased natives from beyond the colony of the Cape of Good Hope may be on first seeing Cape Town, they are generally so much oppressed by a sense of inferiority, and by the degraded state in which they see the coloured population, that after gratifying their curiosity and getting together

any presents they may look for, they prefer returning to their own country, to any temptation which can be offered to induce them to remain. "Cape Town is a fine place," said Teysho; "but I prefer being on the banks of the Kuruman. I was nobody *there*," added he, smiling, "but I am of some consequence *here*."

The nature of the presents which travellers generally carry with them, to conciliate savage tribes, show that they err in the estimate they form of their character. Because they deck their persons with ornaments, and put a value upon beads, they suppose that they will be delighted with any kind of baubles and trinkets. This mistake has arisen in part from their forgetting that beads are the representatives of value among them, as gold and silver are among us. Among these people, utility is, perhaps, more connected with beauty than it is with us. The quantity of beads that they carry about their persons is the mark of distinction, because it is the sign of wealth; and they attach no importance to the most beautiful beads that are not received among the tribes around them as a circulating medium. They generally receive with politeness whatever you give them, but they attach no importance to it if it has no exchangeable value. In my late journey into the interior, I omitted to take with me the articles usually provided by travellers on such occasions, but on my arrival at Lattakoo I found I had some hardware and cotton goods, that I had purchased in Cape Town, to barter for sheep and oxen within the colony. Finding that I had more articles of this kind than I should require, I selected what I supposed I could spare, and distributed them among

those who were entitled to presents. And so far from their being disappointed that I had given them no toys, they had scarcely left my waggon, when they greeted each other with much good humour: "This man does not treat us like children; he gives us things that are useful." In giving them useful articles, instead of trifles, they felt that I paid a compliment to their understandings, which, perhaps, pleased them as much as the presents themselves.

The form of government among this tribe is monarchical, the office of king is hereditary, and the theory of government is that of an absolute despotism; but the king is checked in the exercise of his power by his poverty, and the circumstances of his chiefs. The king is assisted by a council, composed of his chiefs, but this assembly is deliberative only, and the executive department of the government rests in the hands of the king. Several cases were related to me, in which the king exercised a despotic authority; but each of those cases was followed by a diminution of the number of his subjects. Such is the attachment of this people to the principle of hereditary monarchy, that no instance is known in the country of any of the chiefs having usurped this distinction; but if a chief is dissatisfied, he may withdraw with his followers from under the king's authority, and join another tribe; and, in a thinly-peopled country, and among tribes whose whole wealth consists in cattle, this must be a circumstance of frequent occurrence. To this check, which must form a considerable security against the abuse of power, we may add another. All great questions, and all questions relating to peace or war, are decided on in public assemblies, which are designated in their language by the name of Peetshos.

The place allotted for these public assemblies is in the centre of the town; it is of a circular form, and is surrounded by a fence. The whole tribe assembles on these occasions. The centre of the circle, which is elevated above the seats of the people, is reserved for those who are to address the assembly, and direct its movements. These assemblies have something in them of an imposing nature. I heard a very respectable individual, who was present at one of them, declare that he considered himself as rewarded for the trouble of his journey by that spectacle; but as the interest of a Peetsho must depend, in a great measure, on the importance of the subject which is under discussion, the effects upon a stranger would not always be the same. I had not the gratification of seeing one of these public assemblies, but I was present at a council. They had at that time nothing before them to produce excitement, and in reply to my solicitation to Mateebé, to assemble a Peetsho, I received the following apology, which induced me to relinquish my suit:— "I may call together the people," said he, "but the meeting would disappoint you. We can do nothing on public occasions, unless we have something to excite us; and our hearts are now like the desert without rain."

The most remarkable feature in the Peetsho is the existence of two things hitherto deemed incompatible in many civilized countries, the exercise of arbitrary power in the head of the government, with a perfect freedom of debate. Every speaker on these occasions has the privilege of pointing out to the king his faults, and of reminding him of his duty; and this right is exercised with so much latitude, that his personal and domestic

concerns are not allowed to escape observation. It is the prerogative of the king to open and close the assembly; his opening speech generally relates to the affair on which they are assembled; and his concluding one is, for the most part, taken up in defending himself and his government against the complaints which may have been urged against them, by the different speakers. No man is allowed to speak after the king; and the moment he has concluded his address, a band of warriors rush from behind him, to the space which had been previously occupied by the speakers, and brandishing their arms, offer defiance to the king's enemies. This defiance is answered by shouts from the people; and in ten minutes after the scene is over, the king, and the speakers who had been most severe in their animadversions on his conduct and government, will be seen together, manifesting the most perfect cordiality to each other.

The same thing occurred on a limited scale in the council at which I was present. One of the chiefs told Mateebé, on this occasion, that he was entirely under the government of his queen Mahoota; that it was owing to her influence over him, that he did not enjoy the supreme pleasure of an old man, a young wife; that while he was governed by the queen, he would never be respected by his subjects; that he bore no more resemblance to Mallahowan, his father, "than the stunted shrub to the large spreading tree." To these, and other remarks of a similar nature, Mateebé replied with the greatest composure, and without the slightest expression of displeasure on his countenance. In reference to the remarks made on the influence which Mahoota had over him, he was very brief; he

appeared to feel that he was treading on delicate ground; and he insinuated, with some archness, that a young wife might have as much influence over a man as an old one; but when he came to reply to the comparison which had been instituted between himself and his father, he passed it over with the following remark: —"I admit that my father was a great man: he was a much greater man than I am; but in making the comparison you have done, you have forgot that my father had circumstances in his favour which I never possessed: my father had wise and warlike chiefs, and a good and brave people."

One of the most intelligent and high-spirited individuals in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, who was present at one of these Peetshos, assured me that he never met with any thing that struck him so much as the anomaly in the government of this people I have described. "I could scarcely credit my own ears," that gentleman remarked, "when I compared the absolute power of the king with the freedom of speech which I witnessed on that occasion. At the very moment that Mateebé was listening to animadversions upon himself and his government, which would have exposed the subjects of any government in Europe to the severest pains and penalties, such was the power of this man, that he could have pierced any of the speakers through with his assagai, without incurring the risk of the smallest disturbance; and yet, such was his command of temper, that it did not at the time appear to give him the slightest uneasiness. The assembly broke off without any apparent irritation on either side, and the king appeared to place as much confidence in his faithful reprovers, as he did in any

other part of the group with which he was surrounded." A gentleman present when the above conversation took place, had recourse to a very short method of resolving the difficulty. He maintained that this practice among the Bechuanas was a fragment left us of the condition of man in a natural state of society; that where there are no restrictions, there can be no resistance; that freedom of speech is the safety-valve of a state; and that, by its influence in exposing and preventing abuses, and in allowing the humours of discontent to escape, it was as beneficial to the governor as to those under his authority. This was a subject into which no one else in the company felt disposed to enter; and a different turn was given to the conversation by a gentleman present, who remarked, that these were subjects for the conversation of philosophers and statesmen, and that those under authority, as we were, had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them.

CHAPTER VIII.

Character of the Bechuanás.—Thraldom of the Women.—Anecdote of Mahúri's Humanity.—Famished State of the lower Classes.—Great Extension of the Bechuana, or Caffer Language.—Importance of the Bechuana Country, as a Field of Missions.—Mr. Moffat's Visit to Makabba, King of the Wankeets.

For the true character of a people, we must not look to the journals of travellers for information which they have picked up during their short visits; but to such as have resided among them, and have made themselves intimately acquainted with their language, their customs, and manners. In books of travels it is to be regretted that we seldom find a talent for detail connected with the comprehension of general principles: hence, many to whom science is indebted for the manner in which they have described the productions of foreign countries, have proved themselves most unfit persons to give opinions on the character and institutions of men. The surface of a country is more open to observation than the deep hidden springs of human actions; and no one who is not acquainted with man can describe him. When we observe men judging of any portion of the human race, through the medium of their prejudices and passions, and from insulated facts seizing upon general principles, we may rest assured that they are unsafe guides. In our admiration of some of the bold and peculiar features of an uncivilized tribe, such as that exhibited in the Bechuana Peetsho, we are apt to lose sight of their vices, and

give them credit for a number of virtues which they do not possess. It is, perhaps, on this principle we are to account for the character of the Bechuanas, which has been drawn by the pen of Lichtenstein. In the pages of that writer, they are represented as a people of an open, manly, and generous character, disdaining, in their wars and negotiations, any sort of chicane and deceit, "a proof," as he expresses it, "of their natural rectitude and consciousness of strength." To strangers they can be courteous, if they please. Such of them as have come to Griqua Town, and are within the colony, make industrious servants; and Europeans may travel with safety in their country, wherever the reports of the missionaries of Lattakoo have reached; but on the general character of the people among whom the missionaries labour, we cannot bestow the praise of openness, generosity, humanity, or even courage. The following facts, related to me by the missionaries, furnish but a poor illustration of the magnanimity and rectitude which have been ascribed to them:—

For some time after they settled at Lattakoo, whenever they received a visit from any of the people, they were obliged to watch them, and to put every thing they could purloin beyond their reach. So powerfully were the people actuated by this propensity, that they not only broke into their houses when they supposed they could do it without being detected, but they used to watch when the missionaries attended divine worship, and rob their houses on these occasions. The difficulty of putting a check to these petty depredations, obliged the missionaries at last to leave always one of the family at home; but it

is due, both to the credit of the people and the missionaries, to say, that that is a practice of which they have not any longer to complain.

The women are, among the Bechuanas, as among most other savage tribes, in a state of cruel vassalage. In a letter from Mrs. Moffat, the excellent wife of the missionary of that name, resident at Lattakoo, received only a few weeks ago, is the following faithful and affecting picture of the state of the females among this people. After describing the miseries and degradation of the Bushmen, she says :—

" Even amongst the Bechuanas, who are not sunk so low as some other tribes, the women cultivate all the land, build the houses, which are a great labour, and have often to carry the wood on their heads for miles, while the men, comparatively active as they are, never condescend to lend a helping hand to them. Picture to yourself tender and gentle women, besides those constitutional infirmities appointed by an offended Creator, bending their delicate forms, tearing the rugged earth with a small iron-pick, or dragging immense loads of wood over the burning plains, wherewith to erect their houses, thus bearing the double weight of the curse on both sexes. When the ladies at home know these things, they will prize their own exalted privileges, and endeavour, by every means in their power, to impart them to others, who groan under such heavy oppression from proud and lofty man."

In their matrimonial alliances, the young females have no choice, the consent of the parents being all that is required. Their future husbands generally take a fancy to them when they are mere infants, and when the matter is settled with the parents, they are con-

sidered from that tender age as betrothed, and the right of the husband is considered as sacred as it afterwards becomes, when they have taken home their young brides.

The magical influence of custom has so far destroyed anything like incongruity in this practice in the eyes of the Bechuanas, that they were frequently in the habit of asking Mr. and Mrs. Moffat if they had not found a husband for their daughter, (a child of three years of age,) and they always expressed surprise when they were told that the missionaries would not consent to their daughter's forming any such connexion till such time as she should be grown up to a woman.

Inhumanity and cruelty form a leading feature in the character of almost all tribes in a savage state. When the belief of the immortality of the human soul has not a practical influence on the heart, the life of a man is no more regarded than that of a beast. During my visit to Mateebé and his people, I had but too many illustrations of the truth of this opinion, and these illustrations were the more striking to me, as I had then ample opportunities of comparing Mahuri (Mateebé's brother) and his people, who were then deriving benefit from the instructions of the missionaries, with the body of the people who were following the king.

Before I left the Kuruman, Mahuri, and one or two of his people, came to me with a youth of about fifteen years of age, and requested me to take him under my protection to save his life. The account he gave of him was as follows:—The people with Mateebé, from the long drought, were then suffering all the evils of famine. This young man, to preserve his life, had stole a kid, and eat it. The fact had been discovered,

and some of Mateebé's people were then in pursuit of him, and I was informed by Mahuri, that they would certainly kill him the moment they found him. The circumstances of the case left me no room for hesitation; and when I called upon the boy to mount upon the front of my waggon, which was then ready to move, the pleasure which beamed in the countenance of this chief and his people, was scarcely less than that seen in the eyes of the young culprit, to whom it instantly imparted all the joy of a life rescued from certain death. During the first night after our arrival at the camp of Mateebé, he was concealed in the back part of my waggon; and in the morning, when he showed his head, I observed a smile upon his countenance, which indicated the most perfect security, while the people and the children gathered round him, and shaking their heads, exclaimed, "You are a happy fellow!" The business was of course easily settled with Mateebé, and the boy refusing to remain behind me, I brought him with me to the colony.

Such was the state of wretchedness to which many of Mateebé's people were reduced, that Mr. Gleig remarked, that although he had seen many famines in India, he had never seen the effects of famine in such a manner as he had witnessed at Lattakoo. Many of the common people were literally walking skeletons; and those among them who were in possession of cattle, were really passing such of their neighbours as were perishing among the bushes, with the leaves in their mouths, with as much indifference as if they had been so many dogs *.

* "They that be slain of the sword are better than they that die of hunger, for these pine away stricken through for want of the fruits of the field."—Lamentations iv. 9.

Their wars are almost all predatory incursions undertaken for the sake of plunder, and their conduct to their prisoners is characterised with great ferocity and cruelty.

Mateebé has a great share of natural shrewdness and cunning, and he has got his ideas somewhat liberalized by the labours of the missionaries, but he is a savage still. In 1823, Lattakoo was threatened by an immense horde of savages, who had devastated the whole country over which they had passed, till they were checked by the Griquas, who came promptly to the assistance of Mateebé and his people, at the solicitation of the missionaries. It will excite no surprise that Mateebé and his followers, who acted a very cowardly part in the engagement, should have shown the most savage cruelty to the prisoners after the action. If humanity is not always the associate of courage, cruelty is the inseparable attendant of cowardice.

The Griqua chiefs, seeing the Bechuanas in the field after the battle, and hearing that they were committing indiscriminate slaughter upon the prisoners, and sparing neither age nor sex, sent a message to Mateebé, stating that the women and children who had been saved by them, and whom he and his people were murdering, must be given up. This reasonable and humane message was no sooner delivered to Mateebé, than he started up in a rage, and with a large stone, knocked down one woman, and one of his attendants immediately stabbed to the heart a male prisoner standing by him. "The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of horrid cruelty."

The prevalence of the Bechuana language over a vast portion of the continent of Africa, is a circumstance

which adds greatly to the importance of this mission. The different tribes, inhabiting the extensive regions beyond the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, extending from the twentieth and twenty-first degrees of south latitude, and stretching from the eastern to the western shores, are known to speak different dialects merely of the same language.

When the independent state of these tribes is considered, the manner in which they understand each other is matter of surprise. When Captain Owen, of H. M. ship Leven, was employed in surveying the eastern coast of Africa, he lost so many of his men by the unhealthiness of the climate, that he found it necessary to supply their places by natives from Delagoa Bay, whom he engaged, for stipulated wages, to assist in bringing round his vessel to the Cape, where he expected to procure British sailors. While the surveying squadron remained at Simon's Bay, I had several opportunities of conversing with these men; and, on one occasion, Captain Owen brought a number of them to Cape Town, that I might have a full opportunity of eliciting from them such information as might throw some light on this and other subjects connected with the inhabitants of Southern Africa. After taking down from their lips their numerals, and many of their words, in order to compare them with those I had collected belonging to the Caffer and Bechuana tribes, I introduced them to one of Gaika's Caffers from the Keiskamma, in order to try if they could understand each other. The person in question was a young man in the service of the Rev. William Wright. Mr. Wright was himself present when this experiment was made. The Caffer had been apprised of our design by his master; and, in

the first instance, was shy of the natives of Delagoa Bay, and pretended not to understand any thing they said. Though his disclaimer was made with apparent confidence, and frequently repeated, it was accompanied with an expression of countenance which led me to doubt his sincerity; and, finding nothing could be made of him at this time, I requested him to remain in the room, while we renewed our conversation with the strangers. After putting several questions to them about their opinions and customs, and the power of their chiefs, we asked them to favour us with one of their war-songs. Among all barbarous tribes war is their principal occupation, and their war-songs have the most commanding influence over their passions. The experiment was tried and succeeded. Our young Caffer, unable to suppress his feelings, as the tune and action began to increase, threw aside all his reserve, and, leaping up upon his feet, joined in the exercise. After this act, he could no longer deny his knowledge of the language; and we found that they could converse together, on common subjects, so as to be understood by each other.

Another fact, in corroboration of the sentiment I have advanced on this subject, which, though it did not come under my own observation, having been related to me on good authority, may be introduced in this place. The captain of a trading vessel belonging to the Cape of Good Hope, which made several voyages to Delagoa Bay, and having a few of the Delagoa Bay people acting as seamen on board his ship, had occasion to make a trading voyage to Walvisch, or Whale Bay, on the western coast of Africa, in the twenty-second degree of south latitude, he found that, immediately on

coming in contact with the natives, he could carry on trade with them through the medium of the Delagoa Bay people.

An additional illustration of the same subject has already been related, in the preceding pages of this work, in describing the unexpected rencontre I had with an interesting group of Bechuanas, or Caffers, on the banks of the Cradock river, who had come into the colony in quest of cattle, &c., which had been taken from them by the Bergenaars. The place at which they resided was above five hundred miles from the colony, and at a still greater distance from Lattakoo; yet, the moment they entered into conversation with Marootze, who had been one of the subjects of Mateebé, they understood each other without the least difficulty. To the above facts may be added some of a decisive character, which have come under the observation of our missionaries among the Bechuanas, in the journies of Mr. Campbell and Mr. Moffat, which have extended above three hundred miles, in a north-easterly direction from Lattakoo. The different tribes they visited in their interesting tours understood the Bechuanas who accompanied them as well as they were understood among their own people. In like manner the people at Kurrichane, and the Wankeets, the subjects of Makabba, were acquainted with the tribes three hundred miles beyond them,—and they stated that all the people known to them, so far in the interior, spoke the same language with themselves.

The history of the immense horde of savages which threatened Lattakoo, and were repulsed by the Griquas, furnishes a still stronger case in point. This aggrega-

tion of savages, whose origin is yet but imperfectly known, dividing themselves into two parts, desolated the whole Bechuana country from old Lattakoo to Delagoa Bay. The distance from which they had travelled was so great, that the rumour of their approach reached the Wankeets and the people of Kurrichane several weeks before their arrival; and, notwithstanding this circumstance, and though the people attacked by them were entirely ignorant of their character and country, yet, after the defeat at Lattakoo, it was discovered that they spoke the same language, with nearly as little difference in the pronunciation as is discernible in the dialects of two English counties.

More facts, and several documents, might be adduced in further illustration of this subject; but, as it is not my intention to go further into it, at present, than is necessary to show the importance of our missions among that people, I shall reserve the materials relating to it, now in my possession, till I shall be favoured with better opportunities of extending my inquiries.

It is obvious, from the preceding details, that the missionaries have had many difficulties to encounter in the pursuit of the great object of their mission among the Bechuanas; and should they be enabled to persevere in their labours, notwithstanding the ground which has been gained, they will still have many obstacles to overcome. But it is a question with me whether there are many parts of the heathen world where we shall have fewer difficulties, with a greater prospect of success. When we have considered the unprotected state of the native population without the missionaries; the extensive regions throughout which the Bechuana language may be understood; and the desire manifested by the nu-

merous tribes beyond Lattakoo to have missionaries among them, it would be a painful thing to see this mission abandoned, or even partially neglected.

It does not appear to me that a fair trial has yet been made of the Bechuana country. It has always been my opinion, that we should have had more labourers there. We have lately heard of great things having been effected at the Sandwich Islands by a few labourers; but this was not the case at Taheité, at the commencement of our labours in the islands of the Pacific. This mission was at first possessed of considerable efficiency, and the expectations cherished have been fully realized. Let us follow a similar plan with the numerous tribes of the Bechuanas, and, by the blessing of God, we may expect similar results. Now that Mr. Moffat is able to speak the language, it is at least incumbent upon us to send that mission some assistance that they may have it in their power to visit the tribes beyond them. Mr. Moffat has travelled to a distance of three hundred miles beyond Lattakoo; he there found a very populous country, where he was perfectly understood by the people, and who intreated him to come and settle among them*.

As an acquaintance with the state of those tribes must be interesting to many of my readers, and as Mr. Moffat's simple and lively narrative contains a great deal of curious information in an entertaining shape, I need make no apology for concluding my remarks on the Bechuana mission, with the following

* I am happy to state, that, in addition to our mission, the Wesleyans have two missionaries in a distant part of this field, and I shall be glad to hear that their society at home have sent them out additional labourers.

extracts from the journal of this enterprising and assiduous missionary.

After a journey of about three hundred miles from the Kuruman, accompanied by a party of Griquas, &c., Mr. Moffat, on approaching Quaque, the chief town of the tribe of Wankeets, proceeds as follows:—

"*Aug.* 1, 1824.—*Sabbath.*—We halted here for the day, and had our services as usual. This morning we discovered that nearly fifty of our oxen had strayed during the night. About mid-day one of the men who went in search returned, and informed us that they had fallen into the hands of Makabba's out-post keepers, who, not knowing whose they were, had seized them, and killed one. In the evening two men brought six of the oxen, together with the flesh of the slaughtered ox, stating, that the rest were divided, and sent to the different out-posts, but that they should all be restored. The men begged us very earnestly to intercede for them with Makabba, who (they said) would most certainly take their lives for the ox they had slaughtered. We assured them of our interference in their behalf.

"2.—Having still eight oxen for each waggon, we resolved on proceeding. We had not gone far before we were met by Maroch, one of Makabba's sons, at the head of a number of men. He presented me with some milk, and addressed us as follows:—'I am terrified at your presence, because of the injury we have done you. We should have all fled, but that we knew you were men of peace. Your oxen shall be all restored; not one shall be lost. I have ordered the men to the town who killed the ox. They shall be torn in pieces before your eyes. Makabba, my father, will not par-

don them, for he has long expected you, who are his friends. The road to the town is far; it is without water; remain and drink of my pool, and to-morrow I will take you to the house of my father.' With his proposal, that we should remain during the night, I declined to comply. Upon this, he immediately presented me with an ox; but I still refused, on the ground that his father might, in the meanwhile, kill the men referred to, which would exceedingly grieve us, and prevent our revisiting his country. Maroch at last acquiesced, and at my request rode with his wife in my waggon, which was matter of no small diversion to them, riding being never practised by either the Wankeefs or Barolongs. At 8 P.M., we halted at a place without water, and Maroch and his company viewed our water-barrels, and the abundant provision we had made of that element, with astonishment. The wife of Maroch was formerly wife of the Baharootsee rain-maker, who left Lattakoo in 1822. It appears (from her account) that Makabba had invited him to his capital, and after the store-houses were filled with corn, (the supposed result of the rain-maker's pretended skill,) charged him with having bewitched his child, who was sick; and, laying hands on him, killed him, and gave his wife to his own son.

"3.—We inyoked early, and before we proceeded far, were met by messengers from Makabba, who said, he had not slept for joy, because of our approach. We passed many women who were employed in their gardens: on seeing us, they threw down their picks, and ran to the waggons, lifting up their hands, and exclaiming, '*Rumaila*,' (their manner of salutation); which was followed by shrill cries, sufficient to affright the very

oxen. Seeing that the waggons were obliged to take a circuitous road over the hill to the town, we saddled our horses to cross by the nearest way. On reaching the summit of the hill, at the bottom of which lay the metropolis of the Wankeets, lifting our eyes northward, we were greatly surprized on beholding the number of towns which lay scattered in the valleys. Our guide conducted us through a winding street to the habitation of Makabba, who stood at the door of one of his houses, and welcomed us to the town in the usual way. He seemed astonished, and pleased to see us all without arms, remarking, with a hearty laugh, that he wondered we should trust ourselves unarmed in the town of such a *villain* as he was reported to be. In a few minutes a multitude gathered, who actually trode on each other to see the strangers and their horses. In the meantime, Makabba walked into a house, and sent us out a large jar, or pot of beer, with calabashes of the form of a ladle. We partook very heartily of the beer, which appears to possess little of an intoxicating quality. By this time our waggons had reached the town, and, agreeably to the wish of Makabba, we conducted them through the principal street, which is narrow and winding, to the lower side of the town, where we unyoked. We were instantly surrounded by several thousands of people, who were all making their remarks on the novel sight, and produced a noise almost deafening; nor did they retire till night came on. In the course of the afternoon, Maroch, accompanied by three chief men, came with orders from his father to appoint them as representatives, which was done in our presence in the most authoritative manner, when they were commanded to abide by our waggons

from sunrise till we retired to rest, and to redress every grievance; they were likewise made responsible for every article which might be either lost or stolen. About sunset, Makabba sent one of his wives, stating, that the only mark of respect which he could at present show, was that he had sent his most beloved wife, who would deliver to us a sack full of thick milk, and that to-morrow he would provide us with slaughter oxen. The sack was so large that one man was not able to bear it to the waggons.

"4.—Before we were out of bed, the waggons were surrounded with crowds, so that it was with difficulty we could pass from one waggon to another. About 10 A.M., Makabba made his appearance with his retinue, and sat down opposite to my waggon. The bustling crowd retired to a distance, and silence ensued. He addressed us nearly as follows:—'My friends, I am perfectly happy; my heart is whiter than milk*, because you have visited me. To-day I am a great man; men will now say, Makabba is in league with white people. I know that all men speak evil of me. They seek my hurt. It is because they cannot conquer me that I am hated. If they do me evil, I can reward them two-fold. They are like children that quarrel; what the weaker cannot do by strength, he supplies with evil names. You are come to see the *villain* Makabba, you are come, as the Batchapees† say, to die by my hands. You are wise and bold to come and see with your eyes, and laugh at the testimony of my enemies,' &c. &c. A long conversation afterwards passed respecting the state of the country, the Mantatee inva-

* A metaphorical expression, signifying great joy.

† Inhabitants of Lattakoo.

sion, &c. I then told him that the object of my present journey was to open a communication, that we might consider him in future one of our chief friends; and, as a pledge of that friendship, a missionary should come and reside with him; to which he replied, that he hoped in future no grass would be allowed to grow on the road between Kuruman and Quaque; adding, 'Mateebé, I know will try to hinder you, because he is afraid of losing you; he is afraid that you will build your house with me.' He stated, that the strayed oxen would arrive to-day; and agreeably to our entreaties, he consented to pardon the man who killed the ox. I made him a present of beads and buttons, with a number of other trinkets. I also gave him a hat; one of the Griquas directed him to put it on his head, which he did, but immediately removed it to the head of another, saying, that 'he could not see its beauty on his own.' As most of the Griquas were come to exchange property, he informed them, that on Friday he should commence. As soon as he departed, the noisy multitude did not allow us a moment's leisure. During the night we were annoyed with hyænas, of which there are three sorts, the striped, spotted, and another very small.

"5.—This morning three oxen were sent to us for slaughter, and in the course of the day boiled corn, pottage, and beer. I visited the town, which is very large; I am not able to judge of the number of inhabitants; but the town itself covers at least eight times more ground than any town I have yet seen among the Bechuanas, so that the population must be very great compared to South African towns in general; thus the dominions of the Wankeets would form an extensive field of missionary labour. Makabba's wives, who are

numerous, have each a separate establishment, consisting of three or four houses, a corn-house, and a general store-house. They have also a number of round jars for corn, from eight to twelve feet in diameter, and nearly the same in height, which are raised from the ground upon a circle of stones. Their premises and houses are on a plan rather different from what I have seen elsewhere. The houses are not larger, but they are built with somewhat more regard to taste and comfort. The accuracy with which circles are formed, and perpendiculars raised, proceeding only by the eye, is surprising. Their outer yards and house floors are very clean, and smooth as paper. No dairy-maid in England could keep her wooden bowl cleaner and whiter than they. In this respect, they form a perfect contrast to the Batclhapees. The front cattle-fold, or place where public meetings are held, is a circle of 170 feet diameter, formed with round posts eight feet high, and as close to each other as they can stand, and each post is hewed round with the axe. Behind lies the proper cattle-fold, capable of holding many thousand oxen; there are also large sheep-folds. In the early part of the day, Makabba is generally employed in cutting out skins to sew together for cloaks: in the afternoon he is frequently found in a state of intemperance. He seems an old man, although his mother is still alive. He is tall, strong, and healthy, but has rather a Hottentot look; and his countenance displays a good deal of cunning. From his conversation, one may easily discern that he is pretty well versed in African politics. He dreads the displeasure of none of the surrounding tribes, but he fears the Makooas, or civilized people. War is almost perpe-

tual between him and the Baqueans, a very populous nation to the N. E. and E. Beyond the Baqueans lies the Mangwatto tribe, distinguished for industry and riches, and beyond the Mangwatto is the Magalatsela, who seem to form the limits in that direction of the aborigines of the country, for beyond them (they say) are a half-white people, who wear linen, and whose manners are very savage. This afternoon I walked to a neighbouring height, from which I was able to count fourteen considerable villages, the farthest being distant about one mile and a half; and I was informed that there are more towns which I could not see.

"6.—Last night we heard a woman screaming in the town, and on inquiry this morning, we found that a hyæna had carried away her child, which had wandered a few yards from the door. On expressing our astonishment, we were informed, that such occurrences are very common, and that after bed-time the hyænas stroll through all the lanes of the town, and carry away whatever they can seize. As these animals are thus accustomed to gorge themselves with human flesh, it becomes extremely dangerous to pass the night in the open field, and especially on the confines of a town. I pointed out plans by which it appeared to me they might succeed in extirpating them; but they seemed very indifferent to my suggestions. The country of the Wankeets is hilly, and still more mountainous to the north and east. The soil in general is very rich; water is rather scarce, but, I believe, the rains are pretty abundant; nevertheless, irrigation would be absolutely necessary to raise European grain and vegetables. I understand that the countries to the north and east abound with rivers, and are very fruit-

ful and populous. The mountains here are adorned to their very summits with stately trees and shrubs unknown in the more southern provinces of the continent, which give the country a fine appearance. The several sorts of game are nearly the same as those of the countries farther south. The rivers to the eastward are infested by an animal which, from the description of the natives, appears to be the crocodile. It is from six to twelve feet long, with four short legs, the scaly parts invulnerable, so that it can only be pierced in the belly or under the neck. It is rather dangerous to cross rivers, as this animal is capable of seizing an ox, which it frequently does. The natives call it the *quean,* and it is probable that the nation inhabiting those parts derived their name from *baquean,* which is the plural of *quean.* The animal is amphibious, and frequently seizes dogs and other animals, which happen to sleep near the river. To the north of the Molopo is found the boa constrictor. This animal is sometimes seen upwards of twenty feet long, and from two to three in circumference. The skin of those I have seen, exactly resembles that of the common boa constrictor; but they are less dangerous, as they seldom attack man. They usually prey on a species of antelope, which they seize, divide in two, and swallow.

"This afternoon I had further conversation with Makabba, on the subject of a missionary residing with him, with which he professed to be highly pleased. We also hinted, that it was probable a missionary might go to the Baharootsee; on which he remarked, 'that men of peace should live in every nation, that a friendly intercourse might be kept up.' Pointing to a bunch of beads which hung at his kaross,' he remarked, that a

friend of mine had sent them to him from the Baharootsee. 'I suppose,' says he, 'their words frightened him back the road he came, by representing me to be the king of villains. I hope he did not believe the testimony of my enemies. My enemies are not the persons to judge of my character.' As I have before remarked, the field of labour is an extensive one, and possesses some advantages which we have not at the Kuruman; but it must be a life of faith, zeal, and self-denial, removed far from intercourse with civilized men, subjected to a government which would call for a double portion of prudence, and to the society of men, destitute almost of the commonest feelings of humanity. Still the thousands of Wankeets, who know not their right hand from their left, invite the missionary to come, while the Head of the church says, 'Go preach the gospel to every creature. Lo, I am with you.'

'This evening, long before I retired to rest, we heard, towards the water-pools, women and children screaming, as if in the greatest danger. I sent off a few men, who ran to the spot, and found three children, who had been drawing water, closely pursued by hyænas, which were at the very point of seizing them. The men succeeded in driving the animals away, on which they ran towards the women, whom the men also rescued. I understand that it frequently happens that children, who are sent to the pools for water, never return. Many must thus in the course of a year be devoured; a reflection which must make every person shudder. We informed Makabba this morning, that, from the advance of the season, we were obliged to shorten our stay; that the morrow was the Sabbath, a day which we kept holy unto the Lord, doing no work; that it

was our intention to proceed on Monday to Mahubeechu, a small fountain, southward of the town. He stated in reply, that 'being so seldom visited, he thought it but right that we should make our stay long.'

In our intercourse with the Wankeets, we see only one great man reverenced and looked up to by all. His orders are peremptory, and are obeyed with the greatest promptitude. His subjects are both numerous and unanimous, and I think the renowned valour of the Wankeets may be ascribed to unity more than personal courage or boldness.

8. *Sabbath.*—Had our prayer-meeting at our usual time, but such was the crowd and noise, (which increased the more we begged of them to be still,) that we were obliged to desist. In the course of the forenoon I went up to Makabba, accompanied by some of our company. On his being asked if he knew any thing about God, he very emphatically answered, 'How can I? no man ever instructed me?' The doctrines of the Bible filled them with astonishment. The whole company listened with profound attention. The soul's immortality, and the resurrection, seemed to strike them most; they looked as if they expected the latter to take place while I was speaking. Makabba thrice very earnestly asked, 'Shall the dead live?' I answered, Yes. 'The bones on the plains?' Yes. 'Bodies consumed by beasts of prey?' Yes.—He at length exclaimed, 'My ears hear to-day.' One remarked, 'I have killed men, but men never saw the breath or soul escape.' 'Because invisible,' I rejoined; and then referred him to a number of invisible things, whose existence is never questioned. On this Ma-

kabba remarked, that "he was old, but never thought of these things before. You were (added he) lately speaking of God, and from your description of the soul, it must resemble Him.' This I explained. On my enumerating some of the miracles of Jesus Christ, one very naturally exclaimed, 'What an excellent Physician he was, to make dead men live.' When I spoke to them of a place of rewards and punishments, they did not seem so well pleased. They were greatly interested with a description of books, writing, &c. I conveyed instruction in a conversational way, and was happy to find afterwards, that many who were not present at those seasons of instruction, came to my waggon, and made inquiries which evinced that the subject was matter of general conversation.

"This evening a report was spread among our party, that the Wankeets were intending to murder us all, which excited considerable alarm. On examination, I found that it entirely originated with a few Batclhapees, who had accompanied us, which induced me to treat the report with the greatest indifference. However, nothing could quell the fears of the Griquas, who made preparations for defence, while imagination construed every motion and message of the Wankeets to be hostile.

"This morning all was confusion, and the natives seeing us making preparation to depart, surrounded the waggons by thousands, with oxen and articles for sale, while the appearance of the Griquas showed that all was not right. Dreading lest such hasty conduct should have a bad effect on their minds, I remained conversing with some chief men long after the waggons were gone. We halted about a mile and a half

southward of the town, where messengers from Makabba met us, justly complaining of our abrupt departure. During the evening a man came and endeavoured to corroborate the report, but on his hearing that we should bind him till we called the persons he referred to, he very nimbly scampered off.

" 10.—According to a proposal I made the preceding night, and my promise to Makabba, I got up early, and informed the Griquas that I was going to the town; that I had come thus far for the express purpose of opening the door for the introduction of the Gospel, which was now, by their credulity, shut. They all opposed, and some talked of using force, to prevent me running unto death, as they described it. I, however, walked off toward the town, and before I had reached it I was overtaken by three of our company, who said nothing, but followed after. We found Makabba sitting in the midst of a company of his chief men. On our approaching him, he addressed us individually,—' Bonow Boolootsan,' (good morning, *villain.*) We then sat down and entered into conversation. He very justly complained of our unexpected departure, and with not having communicated the reports, of which he had been informed, for investigation. I answered, that I never credited the reports referred to, and that our visit this morning, unarmed, (as he might see,) was, I thought, sufficient proof of the confidence reposed in him. He remarked, that ' he had not slept last night, but that our arrival this morning was sufficient to make him dance for joy.' After spending some time in conversation, he gave us refreshments, and presented me with another ox, and ordered a number to be taken to the waggons, for

the Griquas. By this time a multitude was collected, every one more eager than another, to assure us of their joy at seeing us once more. Before leaving, I addressed Makabba, stating, that if I had given him and his people a satisfactory proof of peace and friendship, I begged one in return, viz., that he would accompany me to the waggons, to which he replied, that 'he was now old, but could not deny my request.' We accordingly repaired to the waggons, when he joked the Griquas for their credulity, presenting each of the chief men with an ox. Before he left us, he requested me and two of my company to saddle our horses, for he was anxious to see muskets discharged on horseback. I declined, observing, that there were others of the company far more expert; but nothing would serve him but I must do it, as I was a *white man*. I acquiesced, and putting into my pockets a brace of pistols, charged with powder only, I passed them in full gallop, and discharged the contents of both nearly at once, which astonished the Wankeets more than any thing they had ever seen. As soon as I alighted from the horse, Makabba began to unbutton my jacket, to see the 'little rogues,' as he called them, exclaiming 'What a blessing that you white men seek to be friends with all nations, for who is there who could withstand you?' Laying his hand on my shoulder, he added, 'I do indeed see that you were without fear, or you would have had your pistols this morning.' After stopping some time, he took his departure, highly gratified, and the Griquas no less so with the explanation which had taken place.

"11.—We took our departure this morning, on our return to the Kuruman."

CHAPTER IX.

Caffer Mission.—Effects of Dr. Vanderkemp's labours.—Renewal of the Mission in 1816.—Exploratory Excursion.—Anxiety of the Caffers to obtain Missionaries.—Unfriendly sentiments of the Colonists.—Settlement of Mr. Williams at the Kat River.—Progress of his labours.—Visit of the Governor, and his conference with Gaika.—Conduct of Colonel Cuyler.

HAVING noticed the Bechuana mission, I now return to offer some account of that originally commenced by Dr. Vanderkemp, among a kindred people, the Southern Caffers, whose country comes into immediate contact with the colony, on its eastern extremity*.

The success which attended Dr. Vanderkemp's attempt among this people, though not at the time very encouraging, was quite as great, considering the disadvantages under which he laboured, as could be expected during the short period he was among them †.

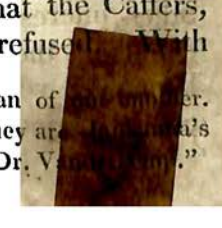
* The native appellation of this tribe is *Ammakosæ*, and that of their country *Ammakosina*. Lichtenstein has described them under the name of Koosas. An interesting sketch of their history, and peculiar manners and customs, from the pen of our excellent missionary, Mr. Brownlee, is inserted in the APPENDIX to Mr. Thompson's Travels.

† The following remark is taken from the journal of Mr. Read, subsequently referred to in this chapter;—

"The labours of our late brother, Vanderkemp, did not then appear to be very useful; but he has made the name of a missionary so valuable, by his disinterested behaviour, that a missionary is safer there than, perhaps, he would be in many parts of England;

At the commencement of his mission, the Caffers were in a very distracted state; and the minds of the king and of the principal chiefs were filled with prejudice against the English, and against our missionary, by the rebellious colonists on the frontier,—and especially by such as had taken shelter among the Caffers, from the reach of the English government. These prejudices were, however, so far conquered, during Vanderkemp's short residence in their country, that Gaika and many of his people regretted his departure, and several of the other chiefs, (as has been mentioned in a former part of this work,) during the first years of the mission at Bethelsdorp, and before the Caffers were driven from the Zuurveld, were in the habit of paying occasional visits to that institution. On those occasions, they usually remained at Bethelsdorp two or three days at a time, and Vanderkemp never allowed such opportunities to slip without strongly impressing upon their minds their duty, in avoiding any causes of offence, and of cultivating the relations of peace with the colony.

For fifteen years subsequent to 1800, although many solicitations for a renewal of the mission had been made by the Caffers themselves, this fine field remained unoccupied. In 1815, however, a dangerous rebellion having broken out among the rude and ignorant African boors on the eastern frontier, it was discovered, on its suppression, that the rebels had used great exertions to persuade the Caffer chiefs to aid them in a projected attack upon the English troops; but that the Caffers, from a suspicion of their sincerity, had refused. With



and the Caffers were no more afraid of us than of [illegible]er. They said, 'These are our friends; because they ar[illegible]a's children.' Jankanna was the name they gave Dr. V[illegible]."

a view to prevent such machinations in future, by having an Englishman stationed in the Caffer territory, and in immediate intercourse with the principal chiefs, the renewal of this mission, which had been previously discouraged, was at length approved of by the colonial government, and permission was given for our missionary, Mr. Williams, who had just arrived in South Africa, to proceed into Cafferland.

Before commencing a new settlement, it was considered advisable, by the missionaries on the frontier, to make an exploratory excursion into the country, with the view of ascertaining more distinctly the sentiments of the Caffer chiefs, and of selecting a favourable situation for a missionary station. Accordingly, in April 1816, Mr. Williams, accompanied by Mr. Read, John Tzatzoe, (the young Caffer chief educated at Bethelsdorp,) and a small party of Hottentot attendants, crossed the Great Fish River, (then the boundary of the colony,) and held a conference with several of the principal chiefs, convened for that purpose, S'Lhambi, Makanna, Congo, Habanna, old Tzatzoe, and several others. They afterwards visited Gaika (the chief recognized as king by the colonial government) in his own territories; and they were every where received with great cordiality, the rival chiefs contending with each other to induce the missionaries to fix their residence in their respective domains. A journal of this excursion, by Mr. Read, is inserted in the fourth volume of the Missionary Transactions, in which, among other interesting matter, will be found some curious details of the conduct and character of the chief Makanna—a very singular and extraordinary man, who at that period possessed an almost unlimited influence

over the Caffer people, and who professed (though after a peculiar fashion of his own) to be a disciple and apostle of Christianity.

Although the great anxiety and emulation which then prevailed among the Caffer chiefs to obtain missionaries to reside with them, is doubtless to be ascribed, in a great degree, to political views, rather than to any just notions of the proper objects of missionary labours; yet it is obvious, at the same time, that a very extraordinary sensation had been produced among this people, generally, by the harangues of Makanna, which, mingled as they were, in many respects, with absurdity and imposture, were nevertheless distinguished by a higher and purer tone of morality than had ever been previously inculcated by any native teacher. Makanna had, in fact, obtained the knowledge he possessed by conversing with Mr. Vander Lingen and other missionaries, whom he had visited in the colony; and, had a missionary been at that time placed near him, so that he might have had an opportunity of acquiring a more thorough acquaintance with the doctrines and spirit of Christianity, he might, in all human probability, have been a mediator of peace and mercy between his countrymen and the colonial government, instead of what he eventually became—a false prophet to the Caffers, and a fearful scourge to the frontier colonists*. But the jealousies which prevailed between Gaika and the party of confederate chiefs associated with Makanna, prevented, at that time, any steps being taken for attempting a missionary settlement in the country

* For an interesting account of this extraordinary ma[illegible]rs with the colony, and ultimate fate, see New Monthly Magazine for January 1827; and also Mr. Pringle's notes, referred to at p. 151.

occupied by the latter; and a spot on the Kat river, near the usual residence of Gaika, and about fifty or sixty miles beyond the Fish river, then the colonial boundary, was fixed upon as the most suitable situation for the settlement of Mr. Williams.

About two months subsequent to this excursion, Mr. Williams proceeded, with his wife and family, from Bethelsdorp, to occupy the new station appointed for him. The following extract of a letter, written by Mrs. Williams to a friend in London about this time, will show what sort of encouragement the Caffer mission received from the colonists and the British officers on the frontier:—

"While on our way to Cafferland, many, who beheld our undertaking, expressed their great surprise that we were not afraid to go among such savages, thieves, and murderers as the Caffers were well known to be. The general opinion, avowed by both the boors and British officers, was, that nothing but powder and ball would do to bring such savages to their senses; and that (as they profanely expressed it) 'after they had sent a good lot of them to hell, then would be the time to go and preach salvation to them, and not before.'— Indeed, so far were the boors from aiding us, that we could not purchase from them the small quantity of provisions, which we considered necessary; and, although we tarried a week at Captain Andrews' post for this purpose, we were obliged, at length, to proceed without them, and to leave money in Captain Andrews' hands to purchase for us. I leave you, from this, to judge of their disposition towards us and the Caffers. Miserable comforters were they all;—and I was truly thankful when we crossed the frontier, and escaped from the clamour of bloody and vengeful men."

Mr. Williams reached the spot fixed on for the missionary station on the 15th of July, 1816. It does not appear that there was any village of the natives immediately adjoining to the site of the projected institution; but there was a considerable population of Caffers and Ghonaqua refugees scattered along the banks of the river; and the residence of Gaika was not above fifteen miles distant.

A few Hottentot attendants, most of whom speedily returned into the colony, were the only persons our missionary and his affectionate wife had to support or aid them in the midst of this wild and (according to the colonists) "murderous and savage" people. How trying such a position must be, even though the people may not be hostilely inclined, may be judged by the following extract of a letter of Mrs. Williams, written some little time after their arrival:—"A few weeks ago, being at home alone, and hearing an unusual noise advancing towards our hut, I went out to see what it was, and immediately found myself surrounded by a numerous body of Caffers, about twenty of whom were on horseback—all naked, and armed with their weapons of war. Numbers more were approaching in all directions, all with spears or assagais in their hands; and they really had a very alarming appearance. Those on horseback, who were close upon me, instantly dismounted, and I expected to be seized every moment. There was not a Hottentot, or any creature, near, whom I could call to speak for me. At length, they learned from some one where Mr. Williams was, and, again mounting their horses, they rode off with great violence towards the place. I took my *little boy* in [illegible] ms, and went after them with trembling heart and [illegible] bs; for I expected nothing else but to find my dea[illegible] ner

murdered before I got there; but, when I arrived, I beheld him in the river, up to his knees in water, working at the dam. I then learned that they were merely a party of Gaika's warriors, who had been out hunting, and who had called in on their way home to look at the poor missionary and his wife, 'who had brought back to them the Great Word, over the deep sea-water.'"

On one occasion only, our missionary suffered from the thievish dispositions of the Caffers. Several articles of iron were stolen, but, on complaining to Gaika, an investigation was instantly made; the thieves were discovered to belong to a distant kraal, and were, upon conviction, sentenced to return threefold the value of the articles stolen. Mr. Williams delined, of course, to receive more than what was his own.

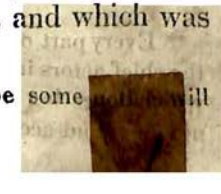
Thus placed alone in the midst of this wild and warlike people, whom the colonists had assured him "nothing but powder and ball could tame," and although he had to erect a house and school-room, to clear land for a garden and corn-field, and to construct, with great labour, a dam for leading out the water of the river for irrigation, almost without assistance; yet, in the brief period of twelve months, Mrs. Williams was able to give the following account of their progress and prospects, in a letter, dated Aug. 7, 1817, which now lies before me:—

"I shall briefly state the pleasing prospect we have at this place among the Caffers*. The number of

* Although the people who attended Mr. Williams's ministry at the Kat river are usually indiscriminately termed Caffers, there were intermixed among them a considerable number of the residue of the Ghonaqua tribe of Hottentots, who had found a refuge among the Caffers from the persecutions of the frontier colonists about seven

people residing here is one hundred and thirty-eight, including men, women, and children. The general attendance on Sabbath is about one hundred persons, and on week-days ninety. Their attention is surprising. Mr. Williams commenced teaching the alphabet, to both children and adults, on the 21st July; the number then attending being between fifty and sixty. Since that time, about one hundred and fifty have learned the alphabet; twelve can spell words of two syllables; and nearly all have learned a most excellent little Dutch hymn. During divine service, not a word is heard from them, not a smile is seen. Their perseverance is remarkable; they never seem weary; but, on the contrary, are always ready and willing when called upon to assemble. This makes it pleasant to be among them; and, I am happy to say, I feel much pleasure in living with them. The females are, in general, clever. I have two gowns made by Caffer girls, some of whom have learned to sew very neatly. I have also a cottage-bonnet made by them from split rushes, which is very neat, considering it is a first attempt."

To the above interesting extract I may add, that I have now by me some of the work of the Caffer girls whom Mrs. Williams taught to sew, and that the manner in which it is executed evinces a capacity for improvement equal to what might have been expected in Europe in the same space of time. In the short space of two years and two months, the period Mr. Williams was in Cafferland, he built two houses, the second a suitable place of abode for his family, and which was



years before. Of the ultimate fate of this tribe some notice will appear in the sequel.

scarcely finished at his death; he inclosed a large piece of ground for a garden and corn-field, planted edible roots, and sowed it with a great variety of seeds; he also made an excellent dam, for the irrigation of his garden and the adjacent fields. All this was mostly done by his own hands.

Williams was a man of integrity and prudence, possessed of an ardent mind, a disinterested spirit, and wholly devoted to the object of his mission.

While he was endeavouring to enlighten the understandings of his people, attempting to bring them under the influence of Christian principles, teaching them the decencies of life, improving their manners, and using every means to rouse them to industry, he received letters, in the month of March, 1817, from the colonial government, requesting him to invite Gaika, in the name of the governor, to a conference with his Excellency at the missionary institution. Before an opportunity was afforded of executing this order, a messenger came from Gaika to inform him that he was very ill, and to request him to come to see him. The following account of his visit to Gaika, and of the subsequent interview between that chief and the governor, is copied from the journal of our missionary* :—

"On the 18th April I went to see Gaika, and to communicate the intelligence which I had received. I found he had had a severe inflammation in both eyes, but that one was already much better. He appeared much pleased with my visit, and began to relate that he had

* Every part of this extract has been corroborated to me by one of the chief actors in the scenes described, the late Lieut.-Col. Fraser; who, on hearing it read to him, expressed his surprise at the minuteness and accuracy of its details.

been poisoned by a runaway slave, who had been his servant, and that he had been informed so by a prophetess. When I endeavoured to dissuade him from such belief, his answer was, 'I know not; they (viz. the prophetesses) know best.' He asked me why I did not send him some bread; and pressed me to supply him with some powder and balls. His answer to the governor's salutation and proposal was, that he was much obliged to his Lordship for conferring on him the honour and title of Chief of his Nation, and begged that his Excellency would accept the same compliment from him in return. With regard to the request contained in the letter, his answer was that, for his own part, he was always ready and willing to meet and to have fellowship with such a personage, but that his people were never willing to accompany him; so that, if he were to go, he must go alone; and, therefore, he could not send any answer, because his people were hunting. This reply I immediately forwarded to Major Fraser.

"On the 26th I received another letter from Colonel Cuyler, requesting me to see Gaika again, to ascertain if he would come; and to say, if he was not there at the time, the governor would not wait; and that he would consider it as a mark of disrespect on the part of Gaika alone. After a long consultation, his answer was, that he would not meet him there; that he must appoint another place, more among the Caffers; and also that he must have with him a small party of soldiers. This message, also, I forwarded.

"On the 29th Major Fraser came, with about thirty armed boors, to this institution. On his arrival, he asked me what I thought about Gaika's meeting his Excellency. I informed him, that the Caffers were

afraid, and therefore it was doubtful whether he would come or not. He asked if I could suggest any means of prevailing on him, and said he could pledge his honour and existence that no evil should befal him through his meeting the governor. I replied, it would be well to let Gaika know that he was come, and likewise what he had said. Accordingly, John Tzatzoe and Hendrik Neuka were dispatched immediately to Gaika for that purpose; but they were detained by him that night and the principal part of next day.

"On the 30th the Major requested me to accompany him to Gaika's residence. This I did; and, on our arrival, the Caffers were assembled in a large body; and, after consulting about an hour with his principal people and counsellors, Gaika consented to come.

"The following morning, agreeably to appointment, his Excellency the Governor arrived at the Kat river. Gaika, however, had not made his appearance, although he was to have been there at ten o'clock, yet he was then at the distance only of about an hour's journey on foot. A little after mid-day, he sent to say that he was ready, and desired to know if he must come to-day or to-morrow. The day being very unfavourable on account of rain, the following day was fixed.

"When the time appointed came, Gaika sent messengers to ask me what he should do, and to inform me that he was much afraid. I evidently perceived from this, and from what one of Gaika's chief heemraden (or counsellors) said, that they were about to lay all the blame on me, if any evil befell them from his Lordship's visit; although I had said, from the first to the last, that they must use their own discretion, and not be guided by me in this respect. They said, were it

not for me, they should all have been in the woods instead of meeting the governor. Therefore I took the messengers to Colonel Cuyler and Colonel Bird, to receive their answer; and, upon this, Major Fraser was immediately dispatched with a party of armed boors to accompany these messengers to the place where Gaika was, to assure him of his safety, and to urge him to come. The Major prevailed on Gaika to consent; but on the way his heart failed so much, that he halted several times in the short space of an hour's journey. When he came near the river his fears increased, and the Major could not get him to advance any further. Gaika then inquired for me, and said I must come over to him. The Major came himself for me, and I accompanied him back to Gaika, whom I found in the midst of a large body of Caffers. He appeared to be in great distress and dread; but on seeing me, he seemed much relieved, and took me by the hand very heartily. The landdrosts Cuyler and Stockenstrom, who were with us, then took him and S'Lhambi by the arm, and led them (but with great difficulty) arm in arm to his Lordship's camp, where the troops were drawn up under arms—one hundred dragoons, detachments of the 83rd, 72nd, and Cape regiments, a small detachment of artillery with two field-pieces, and three hundred and fifty burghers armed and mounted. These, together, formed three sides of a square. His Lordship's marquee stood in the centre, and the field-pieces were stationed on the right and left.

"His Excellency, accompanied by Colonel Bird, Captain Sheridan, and Doctor Barry, advanced from his tent to the front of his camp, to meet Gaika and his party. His Lordship received them in the most polite

and friendly manner. The compliments being over, they marched to the governor's marquee, the sides of which were taken down, on purpose to make the conference as public as possible. On their arrival, his Excellency took the chair, and had Gaika seated on a mat at his right hand, while his party formed a semicircle in front of the governor. The subject discussed was the mutual interests of the two countries; but the Caffers made such a clacking during the whole conference, that it was with difficulty the parties could be heard. His Lordship first stated to Gaika his object in visiting him, viz. to propose such measures as he conceived would effectually prevent, in future, the plundering and murders which the colonists had hitherto suffered from the Caffers. To this Gaika replied, that he knew nothing of the persons who were guilty of these crimes; but, if he could find any who were guilty, he would punish them with death. His Excellency then proceeded to solicit Gaika to use his influence to put a stop to the depredations committed by his people on the colonists; to acquaint him that, in future, when cattle were stolen from the colony and traced into any particular Caffer kraal, that kraal should be held responsible for the cattle stolen, although they might not be actually found there; and that the kraal to which they were traced should be bound to replace the number of cattle stolen from the colony. Gaika very readily consented to these propositions, and said, with regard to the last, that it would be the right way to prevent, in future, any from secreting the thieves. His Lordship asked if he would assist his people in compelling those kraals, to which the cattle were traced, to return an equal number of cattle, should such cases

occur, and should he be called upon. To this, also, he readily consented. His Excellency further asked, if he would collect and send out the cattle, horses, and runaway slaves which were in his country? He said, for his own part, he would give up all that he could collect among his own people: but that there were other chiefs who claimed independence, and that some of them were present, to hear and answer for themselves. The governor, however, did not think proper to acknowledge any other chief besides Gaika. He considered that what he agreed to, the others were bound to comply with. His Lordship also proposed a bartering intercourse between the two nations, and said that, for that purpose, he would allow the Caffers to come to Graham's Town twice in the year, for two days at each time, to bring such things as they had to dispose of, and to purchase such articles as they had occasion for; but that none should be allowed to come without permission and passes from Gaika; that should Gaika himself need any thing in the interval, he could have it by sending,—but that he would be considered responsible for the conduct of those who came, and that therefore he should be cautious as to whom he gave passes.

"While his Lordship was thus calling his attention to the affairs of his nation in a political point of view, Gaika very abruptly broke into another subject in the following terms:—'It is much to our disgrace that we go forth to steal, now that we have God's word among us; but the fact is, the Caffers will not hear it.' He then asked the following questions: 'What is the missionary come into this land for?' His Lordship answered, 'To teach you the word of God.' 'Who has sent him?' said the chief. The governo[illegible]d,

that I had been sent by the friends of Christianity over the world, through the medium of the English government; and that therefore he (the governor) was bound to protect me, and said he hoped Gaika would do the same. Gaika further asked his Excellency, how he 'should understand the Word?' This question put his Lordship rather to a stand; but his attendants perceiving this, suggested for answer, that he (Gaika) should pay attention to what was said, and put it into practice; that it was the missionary's duty to inform him what he wished to know on that subject; but that they were now come on another subject, and they wished him to attend to it. Thus I have endeavoured to give you the substance of what passed at the conference.

"His Excellency then presented to Gaika a sack of presents and a beautiful grey horse. The contents of the sack were shoes, handkerchiefs, shawls, buttons, knives, beads, looking-glasses, and tinder-boxes: the last such as are used in this country, for they would scarcely thank one for such as are used in England. The conduct of Gaika was remarkable while receiving the presents. So greedy was he, that he could not wait a moment to examine separately what was presented to him, although Colonel Cuyler was at the pains of opening each parcel for that purpose; the articles were no sooner put into his hand than they were laid on the ground, and his hand stretched out for more. When he had done receiving, he fled instantly, like a thief, to the other side of the river, where he halted for a little time, and then returned to the place whence he came in the morning. Not being content with all that he had received, he sent next morning to ask me for a [illegible]der-boxes, looking-glasses, handkerchiefs, and

food. He had either heard or supposed that I had received something, and therefore thought he must have a part. Colonel Cuyler had given me nine knives and a few handkerchiefs, and said, 'Take these, and give to those who may have done any thing for you;' and of this circumstance, I conjecture, Gaika had been apprized. The chiefs who were with Gaika received presents also, but none of them so many as he. I heard that it was intended to have kept the chiefs to dine with his Excellency, and that he intended to amuse them by firing the two field-pieces, which were loaded with ball for that purpose; but they ran away without allowing any opportunity for this display.

"The order was immediately given to retreat. The landdrost Cuyler then called me up, and put a paper into my hands with this question, 'Do you know any thing of this?' referring to two horses and three Hottentots mentioned in the paper—the horses as having been stolen, and the Hottentots as deserters from the colony; and it had been reported to him, it seems, that they were at the institution. 'With regard to one of the horses,' I said, 'there was such a horse as was described here, but how the man came by it I knew not; and the other I knew nothing of.' It was stated that John Tzatzoe rode the horse the day before. I therefore called John, and, on inquiring, it proved that the horse was Gaika's. With respect to the Hottentots, I could not, for the moment, recollect there were any runaway Hottentots at the institution, although there were two of whom I knew; but in about five minutes I recollected them, and then acquainted Colonel Cuyler with it. He then said, with a great air of authority, 'I insist upon it that you exert yourself in getting them by

the time I come up, and have all your people paraded.' I replied, 'Colonel Cuyler, I think you had better take that upon yourself, for I am not their commander; I have no authority or command over them, nor any means of protection for myself should I take so much upon me:' adding, that I was in an enemy's land, and should I do any thing to displease them, I should immediately endanger my life. 'Then,' said he, 'you had a d——d deal better be somewhere else, in my opinion.' He moreover said, 'Will you do it?—say yes or no; I will have no equivocation. If you will not do it, I will take means to make you do it; I will report you to the governor.'

"At this unexpected and undeserved abuse, I was seized with astonishment, and cut to the heart to think that I had been a slave of the colonial authorities for the sake of peace, and that such was my reward. However, when Colonel Cuyler came, accompanied by his Lordship, Captain Sheridan, the Doctor, the dragoons, and a party of boors, I had the people collected together, and one of the horses; the other could not be found. The one which was here they immediately owned.

"Then the landdrost Cuyler, addressing himself to the governor, said, 'Here, my Lord, is a stolen horse.' And the two Hottentots, of whom I had given information, came uncalled; and these two immediately gave information of four more runaways, of whom I had no knowledge. Then said Colonel Cuyler, again, 'Here, also, are runaway Hottentots, transgressing against the laws of the colony.' His Lordship then said to me, 'I cannot allow you to receive and keep my people here, as Messrs. Read and Anderson do.'

I replied, 'My Lord! I do not receive nor keep your people.* I knew of only two who were from the colony, and these I neither received nor kept. If I had taken them into my service, or by any means supported them, I might be accused of receiving and keeping them. Moreover, this is a land where every one is his own lord. The inhabitants go and come where and when they please; and I am neither a captain nor a land-drost to call them to an account, were I ever so disposed; for when men are in this land, they are beyond the bounds of civil controul: and were I, who am a single individual in the midst of enemies and savages, to take so much upon me as to lay hold of them, or be the cause of their apprehension, or to drive them from this place, and have any thing to do with stolen property, I should immediately endanger my life and my family. And the natives would, moreover, say, that I was come to entrap them, instead of instructing them in the truths of Christianity. You, my Lord, and every gentleman present, know what a hazardous situation mine is. I therefore hope your Lordship will take this into serious consideration, and exempt me from such a perilous responsibility.'

"His Lordship then called me aside, and said, 'You must know that it is very injurious to the colony to have the people desert it. There we have a most beautiful country, and none to cultivate it. I shall there-

* There were then no grounds for such complaints against Mr. Anderson or Mr. Read. Mr. Williams had only commenced his mission among the Caffers; but the influence of the missionaries at Lattakoo and Griqua Town was by this time sufficiently established to prevent the Bechuanas or the Griquas from countenancing deserters from the colony.

fore expect from you that, when you write concerning those who run away from the colony, you will not connive at their desertion, but mention what you know.' This I promised I would do. His Lordship then asked to what society I belonged? How many people resided here? If all the houses he saw had been built since I had been here? If the people had gardens? And, if any were converted? He then departed.

"Captain Sheridan, before going, took me by the hand, and said, 'Mr. Williams, I wish you every success; and I doubt not but you will have it.' He is a gentleman I know nothing of; but it did me good to think they were not all against me.* But Colonel Cuyler, full of envy and malice, said, 'I wish you may do better! Things are going on very bad here, in my opinion.'"

When it is recollected that Gaika was so distrustful of the intentions of the government that Mr. Williams had to pledge his honour and life for his security; and when to this are added the delicate circumstances in which the missionary himself was placed, it will be readily admitted that the treatment he met with, in this instance, was as inconsistent with sound policy as it was with the spirit of benevolence.

* This gentleman, whose conduct to Mr. Williams formed so striking a contrast to that of Colonel Cuyler, was Mr. Thomas Sheridan, then Colonial Paymaster at the Cape, and eldest son of the celebrated Richard Brinsley Sheridan, M.P.

CHAPTER X.

Illness and Death of Mr. Williams.—Distressing situation of his Widow.—Attachment of the People.—Mrs. Williams' return into the Colony.—Death and Character of the Chief Sicana.—Specimen of his Poetry.—Settlement of Mr. Brownlee at the Chumi.—His Account of the State of the People.—Treatment of the Ghonaquas.—Mr. Brownlee's Visit to Hinza.—New Institution at the Buffalo River.—Exertions of the Glasgow and Wesleyan Missionaries in Cafferland.—Latest Accounts.

WHILE this faithful and assiduous missionary was sowing the seed of which others are now reaping the harvest, he fell a victim to a course of laborious exertions beyond the physical powers of any ordinary man.

The following extracts, from a little journal kept by Mrs. Williams at this time, convey a lively picture of her very peculiar and trying situation:—

"*August* 20 (1818). This morning the fever had much increased. He got out of bed, quite wild; but, through weakness, was obliged to lie down again. In the course of the day the people came to me, requesting that I would send into the colony to let my friends know that Mr. Williams lay so ill. I told them that I had not permission from government to send Caffers into the colony. They pressed hard, saying I was there a lone woman with my two little children, and my husband so ill—it was too hard for them—they could not bear it.

"21. This morning I despatched two men into the colony. This was the Lord's day, and to me the most

trying Sabbath I ever experienced. Before this, I did not apprehend that my husband's illness was unto death; but now I looked for nothing else, and that speedily. My little Joseph was standing near the foot of the bed. He beckoned for him, and I brought him to his father; but he could not speak to him. I asked him if he knew me and the children? He looked at us with much concern, but could not speak.

"22. He had no sleep the whole night, and his breathing grew more and more difficult. He took nothing but water. I was at length enabled to resign and give him up to the Lord, to do his pleasure concerning him.

"After this I asked one of the Caffers if he had no wish to see his teacher before the Lord took him to himself. Answer, 'Yes; but I do not like to ask you, because I think it will make your heart sore.' He then came and sat down by the bed side. I asked him if he prayed. Answer, 'Yes.' 'What do you pray for?' Answer, 'I pray the Lord, as he hath brought us a teacher over the great sea water, and hath thus long spared him to tell us His word, that he would be pleased to raise him up again to tell us more of that Great Word.' I asked 'Do you pray for me?' Answer, 'Yes.' 'What do you ask when you pray for me?' Answer, 'I pray that if the Lord should take away your husband from you, he would support and protect you and your little ones in the midst of this wild and barbarous people.'

"This was to me a precious sermon, at such a season, from the mouth of a Caffer.

"23. This morning, just as day began to break, his happy spirit took flight to be for ever with the Lord.

"As soon as I was able, I despatched two men with

the painful intelligence to Mr. Barker. When this was done, I was obliged, in consequence of the heat of the climate, and of the situation I was placed in, to instruct the people to make the coffin and dig the grave. I had some difficulty in persuading them to try to make the coffin. They knew not how to go about it. I said I would direct them as well as I could, and they willingly set to work. These were trying tasks for me at such a moment; but the Lord hath promised not to lay more on his children than they are able to bear.

"I could not get the coffin finished to-day. I made my bed on the ground, for the night, in the same room where the body of my deceased husband lay; but in the night I was obliged to get up and take my poor children out. You will readily conjecture the cause.

"24. As soon as it was light, the people returned to work upon the coffin, and about eleven o'clock it was finished. I appointed four young men (in whose hearts, I trust, the Lord hath begun a work of grace) to put the body into the coffin. I then took my two fatherless infants by the hand, and followed the remains of my beloved husband to the grave, accompanied by the whole of the people and the children. When they had put the body in the grave, I requested them to sing a hymn, after which we prayed. While sitting at the edge of my husband's grave, I thought that you, my far distant relatives, little knew what I was undergoing; but the remembrance that 'He who sticketh closer than a brother,' saw me, and was able to support me, was my stay and comfort.

"I had not long returned to my home before the messenger that had been sent to inform Gaika of the

death of Mr. Williams, returned with the following message to me, 'That I was to hold my heart stiff; that the people at Kat river were ordered to protect me and my property until my friends came; and if I needed any thing they were to provide for me; and that when any one came from the colony, he desired to be informed of it.' This friendly message from a man so covetous and selfish as Gaika, I thought was of the Lord, for as soon as a man dies among his own people, it is the practice of this Caffer king, to strip the widow of every thing.

"26. I was enabled to keep upon my feet with my two dear little ones; and the word of God was a great support to my afflicted soul. I committed myself and my children, with confidence, into the hand of the Lord.

"27. This day again calls for thankfulness. I have lain down and risen up in peace and safety in the midst of a savage people.

"28. This is the Lord's day. Through the grace of God strengthening me, I began the day with prayer, and after that I held the school. I felt the loss of my beloved partner more than I can express in words. About mid-day I assembled the people together again; and while engaged in prayer, Mr. Hart arrived. I was much affected, and the people also.

"Mr. Hart did his best to console me; and after I was a little recovered, he inquired what I intended to do. I said I had sent messengers to Mr. Barker, (missionary at Theopolis,) and I thought that he or some other missionary would come and stay here until the mind of the Governor was known; that I intended to remain here in the event of other missionaries being permitted to come; and that I thought my remaining

might be the means of keeping the door open for others. Mr. Hart replied, that he thought it would be very imprudent for me to remain; that if Mr. Barker came it would only be for a few days; and that he thought it would be best to let his men prepare the waggon, and begin to pack, as time was very pressing with him. I observed, that Mr. Williams had always been very particular to avoid doing any sort of work on the sabbath, even work of necessity, in the eyes of the heathen, lest it might be to them a stumbling-block; and that I felt unwilling to move till the morrow. He accordingly agreed to stop till the morrow.

"The people then came together, and said to Mr. Hart, 'What shall we now do? The Lord hath taken our teacher from us; and lo, you are also come to fetch away, out of our land, the woman who should now teach us. This is too hard upon us.'

"Mr. Hart reasoned strongly with them on the impropriety of a lone woman, with two little children, remaining in such a place, without a protector. He promised, moreover, to make known their case, and urgent wishes to the Governor, saying that he had no doubt another teacher would soon be sent to them. Yet they were still very unwilling to let me go; and said they would send messengers to inform Gaika, and learn his wishes. Mr. Hart was rather jealous of their designs; and having with him a man who understood the Caffer language, he sent him among them, to endeavour to find out how they were disposed; but all that he gathered was, that the people were extremely dissatisfied at the prospect of my leaving them.

"This night I spent in great distress of mind. I knew not what to do for the best. To leave this people,

and the place where I had been living so happily, and where now the body of my dear husband lay, was like tearing my heart out.

"29th. Early in the morning, Mr. Hart sent off my sheep and cows; and then began to collect and pack up my little articles of furniture and other property. Oh the pangs of my heart this day no one can conceive! About noon, we were ready to depart. Just before I got into the waggon, the messengers returned from Gaika, and informed me that Gaika had said I must not go away until other missionaries came. Mr. Hart thought it best to prosecute our journey with all speed, since he had sent such a message; but for my part I was not afraid.

"After we had travelled about an hour, we met Mr. Barker. I felt much inclined to turn back in order that he might see the place, and witness the earnestness of the poor natives for another teacher. I thought that, if he had seen them, he would have no rest day nor night until he had made arrangements to have the gospel brought again to the Caffers; or have gone back himself with me to take charge of the little flock at Kat river, until the deputation from the society came out from England. But it was ordered otherwise."

The foregoing narrative I have given at length, for while it presents a simple and affecting picture of the trials and sufferings to which our missionaries and their families are not unfrequently subjected in the midst of wild and heathen tribes, it is also highly creditable to the writer as a wife, as a mother, and as a devoted and valuable coadjutor in the missionary cause. The strong reciprocal attachment, also, between the people and their instructors would be a sufficient proof, had we no other,

that his labours were blessed among them. Mr. Hart, kind and praiseworthy as his conduct was, in spontaneously going into Cafferland to succour the widow and the fatherless in their affliction, appears to have much misunderstood and ill appreciated the character and feelings of the little congregation at Kat river. Nor is it wonderful that he did so. Having only known the Caffers as a military man, and seldom mingled with them, perhaps, except in an attitude of open hostility, or secret suspicion, he could not know or credit the change which the character and precepts of a genuine apostle of the gospel had effected in so brief a period on the dispositions of a horde of savages, and who, in external appearance, differed as yet scarcely in any respect from the untamed barbarians around them.

The death of Mr. Williams was much regretted among the Caffers in general; for even the king and other chiefs, who loved not the doctrines he preached, were conciliated and favourably impressed by his discreet and prudent conduct, his industrious habits, and his singleness and benevolence of heart. His memory yet held in great respect among them; and the people who had been under his instructions at Kat river were in the habit of meeting together to instruct each other, and for the purposes of religious worship, till another missionary was sent among them.

Among those to whom the labours of Mr. Williams had been useful, the chief Sicana deserves particular notice in this place. This individual survived his teacher a few months only. Under his last illness Sicana's mind was elevated above the world by the hope of eternal blessedness. Feeling that he had but

a short time to live, he continued, so long as he was able to speak, explaining to those around him the nature and importance of the Christian hope; exhorting them, at the same time, to faith in Christ, and to cleave to the missionaries, and to the profession some of them had made, whatever sacrifices their constancy might cost them; and he expired in the midst of his people, in a truly Christian manner, resigning his soul into the hands of that Saviour who had redeemed him, exclaiming, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly; I commit my soul into thy hands; it is thine, for thou has redeemed it by thy blood."

Sicana was a poet, as well as a Christian, and though he could neither read nor write, he composed hymns, which he repeated to his people, till they could retain them upon their memories. The following may be considered as a specimen of his poetical abilities, and which the people are still accustomed to sing to a low monotonous native air.

Ulin guba inkulu siambata tina
Ulodali bom' uadali pezula,
Umdala uadala idala izula,
Yebinza inquinquis zixeliela.
Utìka umkula gozizuline,
Yebinza inquinquis nozilimele.
Umze uakonana subizicle,
Umkokeli ua sikokeli tina,
Uenza infama zenza go bomi;
Imali inkula subiziele,
Wena wena q'aba inyaniza,
Wena wena kaka linyaniza,
Wena wena klati linyaniza;
Invena inh'inani sibiziele,
Ugaze laku ziman'heba wena,
Usanhla zaku ziman'heba wena,

Umkokili ua, sikokeli tina;
Ulodali bom' uadali pezula,
Umdala uadala idala izula.

TRANSLATION

He who is our mantle of comfort,
The giver of life, ancient, on high,
He is the creator of the heavens
And the ever-burning stars.
God is mighty in the heavens,
And whirls the stars around the sky.
We call on him in his dwelling-place,
That he may be our mighty leader,
For he maketh the blind to see;
We adore him as the only good,
For he alone is a sure defence,
He alone is a trusty shield,
He alone is our bush of refuge;
We supplicate the Holy Lamb,
Whose blood for us was shed,
Whose feet for us were torn,
Whose hands for us were pierced:
Even He, the giver of life on high,
Who is the creator of the heavens.

After the death of Mr. Williams, the London Missionary Society's agents in Africa were prohibited, by the colonial government, from sending any person to succeed him. No reason could be assigned, from the state of the frontier, or from the character or conduct of Mr. Williams, to justify this invidious exclusion; but the pretext employed by the colonial government in its defence was, that it was the intention of the government to provide a missionary for this station; and Mr. Brownlee, who was formerly in the service of the London Missionary Society, and who had, a short time before, entered into the service of govern-

ment, was appointed to establish an institution on the Chumi river as the successor of Mr. Williams.

The following extract of a letter from this excellent man, dated in June, 1820, does as much credit to the heart of the writer as it does justice to the labours and success of his worthy predecessor :—

"I made my entrance into Cafferland on the 6th inst., and was welcomed by a few of those who were formerly at the Kat river. About thirty people joined me, and I expect to have many more shortly.

"Considerable light has been communicated by our departed brother, Williams. I asked one of the people what he thought of the word of God, which he had heard, and how it was that it had not been more prized by the Caffers? His reply was, 'The more I heard, the more convincing it was to me, and I really believe the Caffers had no reason for refusing it but this —it reproves every sin.' Being further questioned, he said he had no reason to give for his neglect of God's word; but although he had a conviction of the truth of God's word, he had no love to it in his heart; and he actually believed (to use his own words) 'that there existed an enmity between his soul and God.'

"Where I have settled, the country is full of inhabitants. I anxiously wish I may be able to acquire the language so as to be able to speak to them the word of salvation. I have John Tzatzoe with me from Theopolis. He came to introduce me among his countrymen, and I could not have done well without him; he interprets for me, and assists me in the language."

The following extracts from a letter addressed by Mr. Brownlee to the widow of the late Mr. Williams,

at a subsequent period, contain some interesting details, and bring down the history of the Caffer mission to the close of 1823 :—

"On the death of your excellent husband, the Caffers who were attached to the mission at Kat river remained at the institution until the December following, when the war broke out between the chiefs, Gaika and S'Lhambi. They were, during this period, much distressed and discouraged by the reproaches and scoffings of their heathen countrymen, who said that, the work of the mission being now over, what could they do, since their teacher was taken away? And the sickness with which some of the people of the institution were visited, was held up as an evidence that all their calamities came on account of their prayers. Yet, although this was the language of many, there were some of the distant Caffers, who lamented bitterly the loss of your husband; particularly old Ganya, one of Gaika's oldest counsellors. It is said that he and some others were very much affected, and said, 'God has taken from us our father.'

"Upon the defeat of Gaika by the hostile chiefs, the people of the institution fled towards the Koonap river, and afterwards they were collected together amongst the other Caffers belonging to Gaika, near the source of the Caha, and along the mountains, between the Koonap and that rivulet. After the people left the institution, a few stragglers, belonging to Jaluhsa's party, came, and, having taken off all the hinges from the doors, they burnt down your house, with all the huts belonging to the people. From this period till September, 1819, the people that belonged

formerly to the institution continued to hold together, and had worship among themselves mornings and evenings; and, what is still more remarkable, they never forget the observance of the Sabbath, but on that day they had constant meetings for religious instruction and mutual edification, singing and prayer, &c. The Caffers belonging to the kraal of Sicana also kept together, and had meetings for worship.

"I visited, in September, 1819, the remainder of the people who had been formerly at the Kat river; but before my arrival at the Fish river a great number of them (both Ghonaquas and Caffers) had been enticed to go into the service of the boors; the inducement used on that occasion was, that there was no probability of another missionary going into their country.

"Thus the people went into the service of the boors, some into Graaff-Reinet, others along the Fish river, in Bruintjes-Hoogte, &c. These people remained in the service of the colonists until the March following, when there was an order issued by government, in consequence of representations made by some persons in authority on the frontier, that they should be collected together and sent to Graham's Town. When they were assembled, it was stated to them that they were destined to accompany me into Cafferland; but some of the farmers told them that they were not to be sent to their own country, but over sea to Robben Island. On receiving this intelligence, a few fled into Cafferland; and a number of those who had been collected together in Bruintjes-Hoogte, on being escorted past the military post at De Bruin's, where they thought they ought to pass the Fish river, to go into their own country, seeing

that they were leaving Cafferland, and proceeding towards Graham's Town, began to be apprehensive of their safety, and, embracing an opportunity when their guard was asleep, they got over the Fish river, and succeeded in reaching the Caffers on the Keiskamma. The others, who were more credulous, were forwarded to Graham's Town, and from thence to Uitenhage. On reaching the latter place, the women and children were put under contract to boors, to the westward of Chamtoos river, and the males were forwarded to Robben Island.

"I have heard that part of these people were sent back on application having been made by Major Fraser; but in what part of the colony they are settled I know not, nor have I ever been able to learn how far the instructions which they received in Christianity have been made useful to them.

"But among those whom I found in Cafferland, near the Fish river, when the commando was in another part of that country, I was much interested by the anxious desire manifested for a teacher, especially by old Kuta, and by the answer which he gave when interrogated as to whether he was anxious that I should come and reside in the country. After he had replied that it was their earnest wish that I should accompany them over the Keiskamma, or Chumi, he appealed to God, who he said 'knew the hearts of all men, and was a witness to the sincerity of what he had expressed.' Soon afterwards, I went to Gaika's kraal at the Chumi, and had another opportunity of again seeing a number of the people who had belonged to the Kat river, and were still living together. I had much conversation with them, and was happy to learn that they still continued to meet for worship.

"In June, 1820, when I went ultimately to the Chumi to settle, I was in a very short time joined by a number of those who had been formerly at the Kat River institution; and I was gratified to find great attention paid to the instructions communicated, so that in a short time I was happy to see a gradual increase of religious knowledge among them. I must add for the encouragement of future missionaries, and likewise for a great comfort, that the labours bestowed on the Caffers have not been without blessed effects. Among those who were most attentive, were Hans Nohlana, Voy, John Tzatzoe's sister, old Bekla, and Kuta his brother. So that on my entrance into Cafferland, I found the hearts of a few prepared by God for the reception of the gospel.

"Many of the children, from the want of books, had almost forgot their letters, but Noketla, with a few of the others, had continued to exercise themselves in the only school book remaining; so much so, that they had most of the scripture extracts by memory.

"The progress the children made in the course of the first year was as much as could be reasonably expected. They learned by heart a number of questions from the Bible history, and these they could repeat both in the Caffer and Dutch languages; and a number of the adults were able to give a clear account, when catechized, of the creation, fall of man, the lives of the patriarchs, the deluge, and the chief events of the scripture history, both of the Old and New Testaments, and particularly such as related to the life, miracles, sufferings, death and resurrection of our Saviour, together with the leading truths and doctrines of the Christian religion.

"After living there for about a year, I was joined by all the Caffers that had been attached to Sicana's kraal, and among these were Noy and Matesoo. The conduct of both these, since the time they entered the institution, has been highly exemplary.

"Since the arrival of Messrs. Thompson and Bennie, the Glasgow missionaries sent by the government into Cafferland, in November 1821, there has been a progressive work, and a gradual increase of knowledge; and from our united operations, the prospect has become much more encouraging. Yet, either from fear of Gaika, or the reproaches of the other Caffers, we have had hardly any persons admitted, for the two last years, into the institution; but there is every probability that when Messrs. Bennie and Ross commence a mission in some other part of Cafferland, they will, in a short time, be able to collect a congregation. I have good reason to hope, also, that Mr. Shaw, (the Wesleyan missionary,) will be able to collect a congregation, in a short time, in Congo's territory."

In the year 1822, Mr. Brownlee, accompanied by Mr. Bennie, made a journey through almost the whole extent of the Amakosa territory*, proceeding along the sea-coast as far as the residence of the chief, Hinza, beyond the river Kei, and returning along the skirts of the mountain ridge which, in part, divides the Amakosa tribe from the Amatymbæ, or Tambookies. On this excursion he found the inhabitants everywhere

* Some interesting extracts from a journal of this excursion, by Mr. Brownlee, are printed in the Appendix to Mr. Thompson's Travels, together with many curious details relative to the history, government, manners, customs, language, &c., of the Amakosæ, or Southern Caffers.

willing, and even anxious, to have missionaries sent to them. Near the Kalumna river, he mentions that "a large concourse of people came together, to hear what they emphatically term 'the *great word*,' and we embraced the opportunity to speak to them on the being and perfections of God; on our responsibility to him as reasonable creatures; and on a few of the other leading truths of religion. At every kraal we visited we were always, without exception, listened to with great attention; and in the conversations that sometimes ensued, and the questions they put to us, the Caffers displayed very considerable intellect."

On reaching the kraal of Hinza, they found that the people, in ignorance of their object and character, and apprehending that they were followed by a military force, were prepared for resistance; all the men being assembled, and armed each with his bundle of assagais, eyeing them attentively as they approached, without speaking a word. But as soon as they had announced themselves to be missionaries, (although no missionary, and scarcely, if ever, any white man had been seen in that part of the country before,) the Caffers instantly laid aside their suspicions and their weapons, and welcomed their new visiters with the utmost cordiality. Next morning they had an interview with the chief, and about twenty of his principal men, at which the missionaries explained some of the leading truths of revealed religion. They were listened to with great attention; and afterwards, Mr. Brownlee adds, "Hinza asked a number of questions relative to what he had heard from us. The following were a few of them: 'At what period was the Christian religion first propagated in the world?' 'To what extent is it at pre-

sent professed?' 'Has it been received by a whole nation?' and, 'What influence has it had on the conduct of men?'"

To each of these queries suitable answers having been made, the chief declared himself well pleased with all that had been said, and urged the missionaries to prolong their visit until he could call together an assembly of his principal counsellors, and chief men who resided at a distance. With this proposal their other arrangements did not permit them to comply; but they promised, if possible, to pay him another visit ere long, and to send him previous intimation, in order that he might have the opportunity he desired of assembling "all the wisest and most respectable men of his country to hear and judge of their discourse."

In 1824, two of the Glasgow missionaries, Messrs. Ross and Bennie, commenced a new institution among the Caffers, about ten miles from that founded by Mr. Brownlee at the Chumi. About the same period, an institution was established on the Kalumna river, near the sea-coast, by the Wesleyan missionaries, and afterwards another, in S'Lhambi's territory. These several establishments have been all well received by the natives, and, with the Divine blessing, are likely to produce very important effects on the young generation.

In 1825, Mr. Brownlee, finding his labours no longer essential to the progress of the Chumi institution, (to the management of which his associate, the Rev. Mr. Thomson, was fully competent,) and, moreover, being now convinced, by experience, that his situation, as an agent of the colonial government, was ex-

tremely prejudicial to his spiritual influence among the natives, he resigned his appointment, and the salary which he enjoyed in virtue of it, and again offered his valuable services as a missionary, in connexion with the London Missionary Society. This offer, the high and hallowed motives of which I duly appreciated, was accepted by me with most perfect cordiality; and, the permission of government having been obtained, Mr. Brownlee, accompanied by the Christian chief, young Tzatzoe, removed to the banks of the Buffalo river, and there commenced another institution, under the protection of old Tzatzoe, the father of his native co-adjutor.

By the latest accounts, the cause of Christianity and civilization appears to be gradually gaining ground in Cafferland. Schools, for the youth of both sexes, have been established at the various stations above-mentioned; and, all things considered, they have already been attended with much greater success than could have been anticipated. School books and primers in the Amakosa dialect,* printed by the Glasgow and Wesleyan missionaries, have been introduced into all those seminaries; and in a few years we may, with the blessing of God, hope to witness among the "savage Caffers" the same delightful spectacle which is now exhibited at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis—the instructed children teaching their parents and grandsires to read the Gospel in their mother tongue.

If, in this promising field, other Christian societies are now reaping the harvest for which our devoted and

* Sicana's hymn, at page 187, is a fair specimen of this soft and harmonious language.

revered missionaries, Vanderkemp and Williams, first broke up the soil, far be it from me and from any of my friends, to grudge them the honour that attends their success. If good is done, it matters little by what society it is effected; and I have always been an enemy to that petty jealousy which would regard with the slightest tincture of envy the success attending the labours of others, or which would induce Christian societies to quarrel about the respective shares which each may have in any great or good work.

In a letter of a recent date from Cafferland, from our late excellent missionary, the Rev. Evan Evans, I have the following statement:—

"I have visited all the missionary stations of the Wesleyan, Glasgow, and London missionary societies, and I am happy to say that they are all in a prosperous state. Having visited Wesley-Ville, Love-Dale, and the other missionary stations of the Wesleyan and Glasgow missionary societies, I visited the station of our beloved brother Brownlee, where I spent some days.

"Mr. Brownlee's prospects are truly encouraging. The population immediately around him is very dense, for this country. Standing on the site of the institution, I was able to count a vast number of Caffer villages in sight. On the sabbath-day it was truly delightful to see the people coming in every direction from the surrounding country to the house of God. Those of the Caffers at this station who have been converted, maintain an honourable profession, and show much love and affection to their teachers. John Tzatzoe, the young Caffer chief, is much respected by all the people, and is of great use to Mr. Brownlee in his

labours. This mission, however, needs more assistance. Mr. Brownlee should have some artizans placed with him. He cannot, as yet, like the missionaries within the colony, have the natives to assist him in erecting the necessary buildings on such an institution. Williams sunk under the fatigue of his manual labours, and it will be a shame to the directors of our society if they lose Brownlee in a similar manner, or if the prosperity of the mission is retarded by their neglect.

"On my visit to the different missionary stations in this country, I was particularly pleased to find a spirit of love and candour among the missionaries of the different societies, which cannot fail to have a powerful effect upon their labours. It is acknowledged by all the missionaries of the different societies that they have entered into the labours of Williams, and that they are now reaping the fruits of the seed sown by him in Cafferland. It gives me much pleasure," adds Mr. Evans, "to state that such is the respect entertained by the missionaries of the different societies for the memory of our departed brother, that they have entered into a subscription to erect a monument over his grave."

CHAPTER XI.

Namaqua Hottentots.—Their former condition.—Difficulty of enforcing habits of cleanliness.—Mr. Schmelen's labours at Bethany.—Proposal of Sir Jahleel Brenton.—History of the robber Africaner.—His plundering excursions—Conversion by the Missionaries—Visit to Cape Town—Exemplary conduct after he became a Christian—Meeting with his former enemy Berands, the Griqua—Death and Character.

The Hottentot tribes known by the designation of Namaquas inhabit what is called Little and Great Namaqualand. Little Namaqualand stretches from the border of the colony, on the western shore of South Africa, to the Orange river, and Great Namaqualand extends from the north banks of the same river to Angra Pequena Bay, including about three degrees of latitude. The breadth of the country has not been so well defined. This is one of the most sterile and dreary countries in South Africa, presenting little to the eye except sandy deserts, interspersed with a few green patches, which are rendered fertile by the few springs which the country supplies. The climate of Namaqualand is much hotter and drier than that of the east coast; it will sometimes be for months, and even years, without rain; and, during the excessive drought to which it is exposed, the people keep their cattle alive by seeking forage for them among the reeds and bushes in the channels of the rivers.

For a brief account of the condition of this people when the English took possession of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the treatment they experienced from the colonists, I beg leave to refer my readers to the following extract from the volumes of a modern traveller:—

"In that part of the Namaqua country lying between the Khamies and the Groote or Orange river, water is rarely met with, except in the periodical streams that flow from the mountains under beds of sand, in which the natives, when such existed, used to dig deep wells, and cover them over to prevent evaporation. These plains are now desolate and uninhabited. All those numerous tribes of Namaquas, once possessed of vast herds of cattle, are, in the course of less than a century, dwindled away to four hordes, which are not very numerous, and, in a great measure, are subservient to the Dutch peasantry who dwell among them. The latter, who have seized upon the choicest part of their country, allow them to erect their huts in the neighbourhood of their farms, on condition of their furnishing a certain number of people to protect their cattle against the attacks of Bushmen or wild beasts of prey. A dozen years more, and probably a shorter period, will see the remains of the Namaqua nation in a state of entire servitude. Such are the effects of an encroaching peasantry, sanctioned by the low policy of a government that could descend to employ agents to effect the purchase of whole herds of cattle for a cask of brandy. To this government was so little a concern of such great magnitude, that it authorized those agents, for the greater convenience of transporting their brandy, to make an expensive road across a point of the Khamiesberg, which still bears the honourable name of the

Company's Road. The government having fixed no limits to their colony, nor their subjects to their avarice, the latter found it still more convenient to settle themselves in the midst of the harmless Namaquas, who considered them as the most acceptable neighbours in the world. For a bottle of brandy, which cost sixpence, they willingly exchanged an ox; and such is the infatuation of this people for the noxious liquor, that they will, even now, exchange a sheep for the same quantity of it."

The Namaquas and colonial Hottentots are evidently descended from the same stock; there is scarcely any difference between them in their physical peculiarities, and they speak a common language. So far as identity of language is concerned, Mr. Schmelen's authority is decisive. He has made a translation of the four gospels into the Namaqua language, which is to be printed at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society; and he gives it as his opinion, that it will be understood by all the different tribes of the Hottentot race in South Africa. There is nothing connected with the history of a people by which we can, with so much certainty, trace their origin, as by the knowledge of their language; and, among other minor advantages which will be gained by this new translation, we may safely calculate upon having much of the obscurity of this subject removed.

The Hottentots have had their golden age, as well as more civilized nations. Till very lately there were alive, at the missionary institution of Genadendal, some aged Hottentots, who gave the following account of their ancestors:—They stated, that their predecessors were acquainted with the scriptural idea of the Deity,—

that they worshipped the true God, previous to the introduction of Christianity among them;—that, at that period, the standard of morals among the Hottentots was very high—falsehood, perjury, profanation of sacred things, and fornication being almost unknown;—that parental discipline was exercised among them with a steady and efficacious hand;—that adultery and disobedience to parents were sometimes punished with death;—that they were in the habit of exercising so much care over the morals of youth, that, on festive occasions, venerable matrons were appointed to prevent any irregularities that might be apt to arise from the hilarity of the season*.

The very nature of the traffic established among them by the colonists, and which has been described by Barrow, must soon have operated in a powerful manner in deteriorating their character; and the subsequent treatment they received, when the new traders became their masters, by taking forcible possession of those portions of their country and cattle which had not yet been bartered for ardent spirits and tobacco, and thereby driving them to the deserts for the scanty means of subsistence, must have reduced them to a still greater degree of mental and moral degradation. Honesty, and a regard to truth, are features in the character of the Hottentots still to be found among them; but many of the virtues in the enumeration which has been given, and which they are in the habit of ascribing to their ancestors, are unsupported by the testimony of history, and do not accord with our ideas of tribes in a savage state.

* See Historical Account of the Missions of the United Brethren for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen.

The vanity of wishing to add to our own reputation by a lustre borrowed from our ancestors is common to the Hottentots, with all other nations, and has given rise, in all countries, to the exaggeration and fable which abound in their early history. If such accounts do not prove that the Hottentots, in their original state, were superior in their morals to all other savage tribes with which we have had means of becoming acquainted, they show, at least, that they participate in our common nature; that they are not destitute of invention; that they are indebted to Christianity for more correct views on theology and morals; and that they bear some resemblance to the people who said, 'the times past are better than the present times. Without participating in the belief of these fabulous accounts, and without any reference to the facts which are known respecting their early history, it must appear obvious to every reader that they could not have suffered the injuries inflicted upon them without sustaining great loss of comfort and character.

Attention to the education of children marks the degree of civilization, and, in many instances, the external circumstances of a people. The poor, even in civilized countries, pay very little regard to the mental and moral culture of their offspring; and, by those in the very lowest grade of society, where there is no religious principle, this important duty is wholly neglected. Like the beasts of the field, their only care is to supply the present temporal wants of their young, and to protect them from external danger; and with these duties their care for them ceases. The sense of degradation and wretchedness felt by the parents is, by an easy process, transferred to the child, and every other feeling is absorbed

in those of commiseration and pity. In situations of great destitution and oppression, parents either become callous to their offspring, or are in danger of spoiling them by indulging their tempers. The latter appears to have been the case with the Namaquas; and on this principle we may, perhaps, account for the following practice.

They never chastise their children when they are young; and it is a well-authenticated fact that, when the parents grow old, and are unable to provide for themselves, they sometimes leave them in desert places to perish of hunger, or to be devoured by wild beasts. When questioned as to the reason why they did not punish their children for their faults, that which they assigned was, lest their children, when they grew up, should revenge themselves for such punishments upon them. It is a singular circumstance, and deserving of attention, that the neglect of their duty, in this instance, should be followed by the very evil they sought to avoid.

Our missions in this country commenced in 1806. One of the first stations occupied by the missionaries was on the Khamiesberg, then on the north-west frontier of the colony. The missionaries were gladly received by the people; and, in the course of a few months, several individuals among them were brought to embrace Christianity. The Wesleyans have now a flourishing mission at this station, formerly under the direction of the Rev. B. Shaw, the superintendent of the missions of the Wesleyan Society in South Africa, and who is at present in England.

Our missionary stations in Great and Little Namaqualand were Pella, Steinkoff, Warm-bath, Africaner's

Kraal, and Bethany; but we have not, at present, more than one missionary and a catechist attached to two of those stations.

There is no part of the world in which missionaries are more needed than among the Namaquas; and there is no district in Africa in which the elevating influence of the gospel has been more strikingly evinced in individual cases, than it has been among them and the mixed breed called Bastaards in that country.

On the arrival of one of our missionaries at a Namaqua kraal, he observed a young man, about sixteen years of age, dragging his mother through the kraal by the hair of her head. The people, who were gazing at the spectacle with the utmost indifference, being asked how they could witness such a scene, replied, with the greatest coolness, "It is no more than our common practice."

The correction of this evil was one of the first things attempted by the missionary. With the concurrence of the chief of this station, he introduced a system of discipline into the school, which effected such a change, in the course of two years, that it was remarked to the missionary by the parents, "Our children are quite new creatures compared with what they were; they were tigers before you took them under your care, and they are now become lambs."

Among all the savage tribes the women are slaves; and one of the first effects which attended the labours of the missionaries, among a people of this description, has been the amelioration of their condition. After a residence of two years among one of these tribes, when Mr. Moffat proposed visiting Cape Town, the females, becoming apprehensive that he might never return to

them, had recourse to the following means to detain him among them:—

"Before you came among us," said they, "we were in the most wretched condition. We were treated by the men as brutes, and worse than they treated brutes. When we were at home, we had all our houses to build and keep in repair; we had every day to go abroad to seek for roots, and honey, and fire-wood. During the time we were employed in this kind of labour, the men were generally unemployed; and when we returned at night, with what we had collected for their subsistence and our own, we dared not sit down in their presence without their permission; and if we had been unsuccessful, as was often the case, we were generally beaten. When they went to hunt, in addition to our cooking utensils and our young children, we were compelled to carry what they wanted for their own use, while they walked before us, and left us to follow as if we had been beasts of burden. When they had killed game we had to cook for them, and we were not allowed to taste a morsel till they had satisfied themselves; and, when they had eaten, we were obliged to retire from their presence to consume the offals given to us. Since you came among us," said they, "our condition has been much improved. Our men do not treat us in the barbarous manner in which we were formerly treated by them; but, if you leave us, they will return to their old habits, and we shall be worse than if you had never come among us. On these grounds we have determined," they added, "that we will lay our bodies before your waggon, and, if you are resolved to leave us, its wheels shall go over us."

As filth is an inseparable concomitant to indolence,

and indolence is a prevailing vice among barbarians, attention to cleanliness, among people in that state, may be considered as a certain indication of the presence, at least, of some degree of civilization. Our missionaries have some of the greatest difficulties on this point, and such of them as have been most successful have begun with the children. If the children, by love, reason, the fear of punishment, or a desire to please their master, can be made to pay attention to cleanliness till it becomes a habit, it will become natural and easy to them, and any compulsory measures will become unnecessary. One of our missionaries, among the Great Namaquas, began by giving rewards, and distinguishing with his favour such as appeared at school most clean and decently attired; but these considerations were too weak to overcome their love of indolence, or to produce any extensive reformation, till his authority was so well established that he was enabled to introduce other methods. Not seeing the success he anticipated from his first attempts, he had recourse to harsher measures. He began by punishing the most guilty, and ended by establishing a universal law, that every one who came to the school with a dirty caross, and without having bathed in the river, should be obliged to submit to the operation of being washed by the hands of some of the stoutest of the scholars. The plan succeeded: the houses, as well as the persons, of the Namaquas from that time began to assume a more cleanly appearance. They were not then, however, arrived at that state of civilization when the manners of a people assume a fixed character. Two years may be sufficient to effect a great change, as it respects cleanliness, among a savage tribe; but, fully

to secure the benefits of such a revolution to posterity, the system must be continued till the parents are dead, and the children brought up under its influence are found supplying their places.

One of the most judicious and efficient methods adopted at our stations for promoting cleanliness, is, the attention paid to the places of worship. This is done by the females in rotation, half a dozen of whom are employed in this work every Saturday morning. The seats are all taken out, scoured with sand, washed with soap and water, and dried in the sun, while the cobwebs are all brushed from the walls and the windows, and the whole place made as clean as a well-kept parlour. The beneficial influence of this practice is already seen; the comfort and pleasure arising from such a high degree of cleanliness and neatness in their places of worship is gradually extending it to their persons and houses; and you find in the interior of the poorest huts, in some of our settlements, an appearance of tidiness which surprises you when contrasted with the poverty of the exterior, and the ideas you have been accustomed to associate with their former condition.

On visiting some of the huts of the natives, on my late journey into the interior, it is somewhat remarkable that I was less affected by their internal condition, and could remain longer in them at a time, than some of the Theopolis Hottentots who accompanied me. I have heard Boezak, the Hottentot chief from Theopolis, on such occasions, remark more than once, "When I reflect upon my former condition, I am astonished how I could live in such situations. I can seldom remain more than ten minutes in those hovels before I become sick, and I am obliged to go into the open air for relief."

Mr. Kitchingman laboured some years at Steinkoff, previous to his appointment to take the charge of the missionary station at Bethelsdorp. Shortly after the arrival of the deputation of the London Missionary Society at the Cape of Good Hope, he came to Cape Town, accompanied by a number of the natives who were under his instruction. The object of the greater part of the people who were with him on this journey was of a commercial nature. They had collected together a few skins and ostrich feathers, which they brought with them for sale. Their conversation and conduct, during the few weeks they were in town, was matter of surprise to us, and to every one who had any particular intercourse with them. I could perceive no traces of savage life about them; they discovered no surprise at the novelty of the scene around them; there was nothing in their remarks below the average standard of intellect discernable in our English peasantry; the tradesmen, with whom they dealt, allowed that they could make a bargain as well as any of the colonists could do; and all the time they were in Cape Town, they did not spend a single farthing in drink, or purchase a single article which was not for use. It was on this occasion that the deputation saw it necessary to send Mr. Kitchingman to Bethelsdorp to take the charge of that station; and when the Namaquas found that their beloved missionary was not to return with them, it gave rise to one of the most affecting scenes I ever witnessed. I cannot yet recur to it in my recollection, and reflect upon the destitute state in which that country now is, without experiencing the most painful sensations.

The labours of our missionaries among that people were certainly attended with the most pleasing effects; and although I would not recommend to the Society to

increase its stations in the country, in present circumstances, it is painful to see those who have been converted to God wandering about without any spiritual guides, and many of the people, who were, at least, partially civilized by the labours of the missionaries, returning to a state of barbarism for want of the means of instruction.

It was, at one time, a favourite plan in South Africa to erect missionary stations as far apart from each other as possible, under the idea that the light emanating from each of those stations would spread around, and enlighten all the intermediate tracts between them. It is a pity to find any fault with an idea so pleasing to the benevolent feelings of the mind; but we have been taught by experience that more is to be expected from a few efficient missions in a country, conducted on a liberal and enlightened system, than from a multitude of missionaries labouring apart over a widely-extended surface.

We have lived to correct a popular mistake, that we may plant missionaries in a savage country as it has been said a man may plant acorns, the traveller having only to drop them in the earth as he passes along through a country, and then to leave them to the soil and climate, without needing to take any further concern about them. Notwithstanding the length of time we have been engaged in our attempts to christianize savage tribes, we have not yet been able to raise any of them to that state in which we can safely leave them to their own resources.

Bethany, which is the name of Mr. Schmelen's station in Great Namaqualand, is about six days' journey in a bullock-waggon, or two or three days' on oxback, from Angra Pequena bay. On a visit Mr. Schmelen lately

made to the bay, he found a tribe of Bushmen living by it. A correspondence has lately been opened between the South-Sea whalers which visit that bay and the natives; and Mr. Schmelen's people are so anxious to have an opportunity of trading with the ships which may visit the coast, that they have bestowed considerable labour in endeavouring to make a road from Bethany to the bay. Previous to the establishment of missionaries in that quarter, there was no part on the coast of Africa more dreaded by sailors than that part of the shore which stretches from the mouth of the Orange river to Angra Pequena bay. The inhabitants were considered as little better than cannibals; the sailors seldom dared to land among them; and, from the accounts our missionaries have received, there is reason to believe that the crew of a vessel that happened to be stranded, shortly before their arrival there, fell victims to the savage disposition of the inhabitants. When the former character of this people is considered, and the length of time necessary to do much toward the civilization of a people is taken into account, the most stubborn facts may be appealed to in favour of our missions, and as a confutation of the commonplace declamation sometimes indulged in against them. Within these three or four years, some of the South-Sea whalers have ventured to open a correspondence with the people on the coast; and such of them as were formerly acquainted with the dispositions of the people speak with surprise of the change which has taken place in them.

The following extract of a letter received from Sir Jahleel Brenton, K.C.B., Bart., formerly his Majesty's naval commissioner for the Cape, will be read with much interest:—

"I have just received a letter from the admiral at St. Helena; a part of which will, I am sure, be interesting to you. He tells me a whaler had just arrived there from Angra Pequena, a bay on the western coast of Africa, about a week's sail from St. Helena. The master brought some oxen, which, though small, were of an excellent description, which he bought for some old iron, barrels of muskets, &c.; and five sheep for an old handkerchief. He heard from the people he found at this place, that they were natives of the interior at a great distance from the coast; that they would willingly enter into an engagement to visit the bay at stated periods for the purpose of supplying live stock, but that it was necessary they should move in numbers on account of the wild beasts. They added that they had frequent communication with the missionaries of the colony. The admiral has requested I would procure all possible information upon the subject, and has expressed his readiness to send vessels there. Now it strikes me, my dear sir, that if we can only establish one of your missionaries there, and supply him, by sea, with every thing he might want, that a most important advantage might result to the good cause. If you see it in the same light, and are enabled to act, I will venture to insure you the assistance of the navy and transport service. The migratory hordes might be induced to settle there, and an extensive communication established in every direction. It does not appear from the admiral's letter, that there are any people in the immediate neighbourhood, who are natives of the spot. Will you have the goodness to procure any information on the subject which may be in your power, and to furnish me with it?"

The location of those wandering hordes in some favourable situation, had been viewed for some time before as a desideratum, and when the above communication was received from his Majesty's naval commissioner the slightest chance of succeeding in this object was a sufficient stimulus to exertion. From the advantages the Namaquas had already derived from the instructions of the missionaries, they were fully prepared for this step, and willing to accompany them to any part of the coast, where they might find a situation uniting the advantages required for the attainment of so desirable an object. Under the influence of the sentiments I have stated, I lost no time in communicating with his Majesty's naval commissioner on this subject, and Captain Roberts of his Majesty's navy was shortly after employed in this service. The plan agreed upon with Admiral Lambert in this instance, was to send a vessel to Angra Pequena bay, and Mr. Schmelen, our missionary at Bethany, was to be at the bay waiting its arrival. A special messenger was instantly sent off to Mr. Schmelen to communicate to him this information, but owing to the difficulties attending the journey, the messenger did not arrive in time, and the vessel had left the bay before Mr. Schmelen reached it. The admiral and his Majesty's naval commissioner were so friendly to the object, that another attempt would have been made; but the removal of Sir Jahleel Brenton from the Cape, and that of the fleet from St. Helena, after the death of Buonaparte, deprived us of those advantages in pursuing our inquiries, which their longer continuance might have afforded.

The character of the missionaries who have laboured in this field, the privations and hardships they have had

to endure in the prosecution of their object, the piety and resolution with which those privations and hardships were borne by them, and the particular instances of success which have attended their exertions, merit a much larger share of attention than I can bestow upon them at present. To have dilated more on subjects of this nature would have been more in accordance with my own feelings than many of the subjects I have had to discuss in these volumes; but in the selection of my materials, I have in this and in many other points, been compelled to sacrifice my own private feelings to promote the general object of the publication. In pursuance of the plan thus forced upon me by circumstances, I must omit any particular notice of our excellent missionaries who have laboured in this quarter, and confine myself to a single instance of their success, and of the beneficial effects of their labours to the colony.

In the history of the noted Namaqua chief, Africaner, we have a striking illustration of the civilizing effects of Christian instructions, and of the advantages which the colony has derived from our missions on the borders of the Great Orange river.

Under the Dutch government, and for some time after the English took possession of the Cape, it is well known, that, from the mouth of the Orange river, to the district denominated the New Hantam, including a line of boundary nearly six hundred miles in extent, the whole country was in a state of constant hostility. At this period, the colonists and the frontier tribes lived in constant apprehension of each other, and many of the borderers still alive can unfold tales of horror not exceeded in atrocity by any thing that has ever met the public eye.

I am sorry that I cannot on this subject refer to Mr. Thompson's account of Africaner and the Namaquas, with the same pleasure I have had in referring to some other parts of his travels. He has done justice to the religious character of the chief, but he does not appear to have been acquainted with his previous history; and he falls into a mistake in describing the Namaquas as rich in sheep and cattle, and as passing an easy and unmolested life, except from occasional skirmishes with the wandering Bushmen, till assailed by Africaner within fifteen years of the period at which he wrote his travels *.

It appears, from the pages of Barrow, that the colonists had been in the habit of robbing the Namaquas for a hundred years before even *he* visited them. At the period Mr. Barrow was among them, (twenty-five years previous to the period when Mr. Thompson wrote his journal,) that traveller describes them as having

* The following is Mr. Thompson's account above referred to:—"The Namaqua tribes, formerly rich in sheep and cattle, passing an easy and unmolested life, except from occasional skirmishes with the wandering Bushmen, have of late been assailed by a race of far more formidable enemies. About fifteen years ago, a bastard Hottentot, named Africaner, collected a band of people of his own race, runaway slaves, and other desperadoes; and having by some means procured fire-arms, commenced a regular system of depredation upon the defenceless Namaquas and Korannas, plundering them of great numbers of their cattle, which he exchanged again with some unprincipled colonists for further supplies of arms and ammunition. This continued till the robber-chief was converted to Christianity, and to a decent and sober course of life, by one of the missionaries, who, at the hazard of his life, paid a visit to him with that beneficent view. His conversion was sincere; and from a lawless bandit, he became the friend and protector of those whom he had formerly persecuted."

been robbed of their cattle, as deprived of the choicest parts of their country, as reduced to a state of dependence by the Dutch peasantry who then dwelt among them; and he gives it as his opinion, that a dozen of years, and probably a shorter period, would see the remains of the Namaquas in a state of entire servitude.

Africaner was of Hottentot extraction; but he was born within the limits of the colony, and he had a portion of the blood of the colonists in his veins. With his father and several brothers, he lived on the farm of a boor of the name of Pinaar, on the Oliphant's river, and he and his brothers had been employed for many years by the boor, in commandoes against the Bushmen and Namaquas. On these commandoes they generally surprised the villages of the natives by night, shot the men, and took the women, children, and the cattle. When these commandoes were undertaken, the practice was for a few of the boors to unite their separate strength, and the principal part of the booty was of course divided among themselves, giving a fractional share only to the slaves or Hottentots who were in their service. There were at that time a few boors in that district on the colonial frontier, who were noted for the cruelties and murders they committed upon the defenceless natives in these marauding and plundering expeditions, and among these the name of Pinaar was not the least in infamy. His character was a compound of avarice, cruelty, and licentiousness, and he had but too many opportunities of gratifying his unhallowed passions. His conduct towards the Hottentot females upon his farm, had long been the occasion of great uneasiness to Africaner and his brothers, and a circum-

stance occurred about the time that the English took possession of the Cape, which terminated in the death of Pinaar, and forced Africaner and his family to retire from the colony. On expeditions where plunder was the object, Pinaar generally accompanied the party; but when they were not engaged in such serious matters, they were often sent from home under circumstances which confirmed the suspicions to which allusion has already been made. On one of these occasions, Africaner and his brothers refused to obey the orders of Pinaar. Enraged at this act of disobedience to his authority, he seized his gun and levelled it at one of the brothers of the chief, but it missed fire; and when he was in the act of raising it to his shoulder to perpetrate the deed he had before failed to execute, Africaner shot him through the heart.

Immediately after this fatal occurrence, Africaner, with his family and the other Hottentots in the service of Pinaar, fled to great Namaqualand, where he took up his residence, and soon made himself famous by his exploits against the colonists and the surrounding tribes. He carried with him the muskets and ammunition formerly belonging to Pinaar, and he soon increased both by the success which attended his subsequent attacks made upon the boors.

While this formidable chief was filling the borders of the colony, to an extent of not less than three hundred miles, with the terror of his name; and after he had attacked the Warm-Bath, one of our missionary stations, and murdered or dispersed the people; and while he was supposed to be meditating the destruction of all our missionary stations in that quarter, a message sent to him through the medium of one of

our missionaries, by Mr. Campbell, who was then in Africa, was the means of averting the threatened evil, and of producing an entire revolution in his sentiments and feelings. The principles of religion, then imparted to the mind of Africaner by this missionary, were afterwards, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Moffat, matured into one of the finest specimens of the Christian character.

When this singular man was in Cape Town, in 1819, the writer of this article had frequent opportunities of seeing and conversing with him. When people are emerging from savage life to a state of civilization, they are more under the influence of their feelings, and fancies, than sound judgment; and their religious sentiments are often strongly tinctured with their former superstitions. But in my intercourse with Africaner, I discovered nothing that could have led me to suppose that he had not been educated by Christian parents. His views of divine truth were clear, rational, and experimental, without one dash of enthusiasm.

His person was about the middle size; his eye and his countenance were expressive of mildness, firmness, and intrepidity; and to easy manners and an address which was rather prepossessing, was added a conversation characterized with humility and good sense.

While in Cape Town, some notice was taken of him, and the colonial government made him a present of a very handsome waggon, which is an article of great importance, and of some value, in South Africa. Being congratulated on this circumstance, he replied, with a deep sigh, that it was a great burden laid upon him. "While these things," he added, "will excite the envy of my old enemies, and I have many between

this and Namaqualand, every evil which may happen on the border of the colony will be imputed to Africaner; and there is nothing I more dread than being charged with injustice and ingratitude."

To appreciate the excellence of these remarks, it should be recollected, that at the time they were made, not more than four or five years had elapsed from the period that the man who uttered them was the savage leader of a savage horde, and who, to use his own words, never inquired into the causes of things, nor had one thought beyond his family, his wars, and his cattle.

His natural boldness and intrepidity, the great extent of our frontier, which was open to his incursions, the ease with which he could make a descent upon the colony, and escape with his booty into the trackless deserts beyond Namaqualand, rendered him a formidable and dangerous enemy, and may serve to illustrate the value of his friendship. Immediately after his conversion to Christianity, he sent messages to the chiefs of all the different tribes with whom he had ever been at war, mentioning the change which had taken place in his sentiments, expressing his regret for the blood he had been the occasion of shedding, recommending to them the doctrines taught by the missionaries, and at the same time inviting them to co-operate with him in putting an end to war, and in establishing a general peace.

I shall close my account of this singular man, by an extract from the journal of my esteemed fellow-traveller Mr. Campbell. Africaner's journey to Lattakoo, and his interview with the Chief Berands, are incidents of too interesting a character to be omitted in this place.

"While halting for a few days at Tulbagh, a town sixty miles from Cape Town, on his return to his own country, Africaner was exposed to a severe trial of temper, which afforded an opportunity of showing his Christian spirit. A woman, under the influence of prejudice, excited by his former character, meeting him in the public street, followed him for some time, as Shimei followed King David, calling after him with all her might, and heaping upon him all the coarse and bad names which she could think of. Reaching the place where his people were standing by his waggon, with a number of persons whom this woman had drawn together still following him—his only remarks were—'This is hard to bear, but it is part of my cross, and I must take it up.'

"At Tulbagh, Africaner took an affectionate farewell of his missionary friend, Mr. Moffat, who was on his way, with the deputation, to visit the Society's stations on the eastern coast of the colony; after which he was to proceed to Lattakoo, to assist in the mission which had been for some time established in that town. Africaner travelled along the western side of the colony, towards his own country, where he arrived in safety, a few weeks after, to the great joy of his friends at home. This was the first time he had been entirely without a missionary, since his conversion to Christianity. Now, the rule and the religious instruction of his people entirely devolved on himself. He, being by grace a humble man, felt it a weighty concern, and saw it necessary to look constantly to God, for wisdom to direct, and grace to support him, in fulfilling the duties connected with his double character of ruler and teacher.

"He continued to labour amongst his people for about a year, when he believed Mr. Moffat must by that time have taken up his residence at Lattakoo. He therefore resolved to pay him a visit, and carry with him, in his waggon, what books and furniture Mr. Moffat had left behind him, at the kraal. This was a long journey across the continent, and a great part of it was over deep sand; but the season encouraged him, being June, which is the middle month in a South African winter, consequently, the coolest season in the year. He reached Lattakoo in the middle of July, 1820, where he received a most hearty welcome from the missionary brethren and sisters there, and he delivered, in good condition, the furniture and books which he had brought with him.

"This kind service was done from gratitude and pure Christian affection towards the missionary. It was, indeed, a rare instance of disinterested benevolence, as the journey to and from Lattakoo occupied full three months. He made no boast of it, and looked for no recompense. While remaining at Lattakoo, he conducted himself with much Christian meekness and propriety, and waited patiently till the deputation finally left that city.

"He and his people made part of the caravan for upwards of an hundred miles, until they reached Berands' Place, which is the town nearest to Lattakoo, in the Griqua country: it chiefly belongs to Berands, an old Griqua chief. The meeting between Africaner and this chief was truly interesting, having not seen one another for four-and-twenty years, when, at the head of their tribes, they had fought for five days on the banks of the Great Orange river. Being now both converts to the faith of Christ, and having obtained mercy of

the Lord, all their former animosities were laid aside, they saluted each other as friends, and friends of the gospel of Christ.

"These chiefs, followed by their people, walked together to the tent, when all united in singing a hymn of praise to God; and listening to an address from the invitation of God to the ends of the earth, to look to Him, and to him alone, for salvation. After which the two chiefs knelt at the same stool, before the peaceful throne of the Redeemer; when Berands, the senior chief, offered up a prayer to God. The scene was highly interesting; they were like lions changed into lambs, their hatred and ferocity having been removed by the power of the Gospel; indeed, when the Namaqua chief was converted, he sent a message to the Griqua chiefs, confessing the injuries he had done them in the days of his ignorance, and soliciting them at the same time to unite with him in promoting universal peace among the different tribes.

"The two chiefs were much together till the afternoon of the next day, when, after taking an affectionate farewell, Africaner, with his waggon and people, set off to the westward, in order to cross over to Namaqualand; and the rest of the caravan travelled south, in the direction of Cape Town, from which they were distant about seven hundred miles.

"On reaching home, Africaner again resumed the religious instructions of his people, and remained constantly with them till his final removal to the everlasting world. How long his last illness continued we are not informed, but when he found his end approaching, like Joshua, he called all his people around him, and gave them directions concerning their future

conduct. 'We are not,' said he, 'what we once were, savages, but men professing to be taught according to the gospel: let us, then, do accordingly. Live peaceably with all men, if possible; and, if possible, consult those who are placed over you, before you engage in any thing. Remain together as you have done since I knew you; that when the directors think fit to send you a missionary, you may be ready to receive him. Behave to the teacher sent you as one sent of God, as I have great hope that God will bless you in this respect when I am gone to heaven. I feel that I love God, and that he hath done much for me, of which I am totally unworthy. My former life is stained with blood, but Jesus Christ hath pardoned me, and I am going to heaven. O beware of falling into the same evils into which I have led you frequently: but seek God, and he will be found of you, to direct you.'

"Soon after delivering the above address, he died in peace, a monument of redeeming mercy and grace.

"From the time of his conversion to God, to the day of his death, he always conducted himself in his family and among his people, in a manner very honourable to his profession of Christianity; acting the part of the Christian parent and Christian master. While his people were without a missionary, he continued, with much humility, zeal, diligence, and prayer, to supply as much as in his power the place of a teacher. On the Lord's day, he expounded to them the word of God, for which he was well fitted, having considerable natural talents, undissembled piety, and much experimental acquaintance with his Bible. He had considerable influence among the different tribes of

Namaquas, by whom he was surrounded, and was able to render great service to the missionary cause among them. He was also a man of undaunted courage, and although he himself was one of the first and severest persecutors of the Christian cause in that country, he would, had he lived, have spilt his blood, if necessary, for his missionary."

CHAPTER XII.

Effects of the Missions in promoting Peace among the Native Tribes and Security to the Colonial Frontier.—Testimonies in regard to this point by Mr. Melvill, Colonel Fraser, Dr. Lichtenstein, Mr. Barrow, &c.—Defence of Theopolis in 1819.—Dangers from which the Colony has been saved by the Conciliation of the Hottentots.—Objections against the Stations beyond the Colony, as affording a refuge to Deserters and Runaways, &c. refuted.—Abuses of the Colonists in supplying the Banditti with Ammunition not restrained by Government.—False allegations of Peterson, the convict, against Africaner's Kraal.

THE beneficial effects which civilized nations or colonies may receive from Christian missions to savage tribes in their neighbourhood is no longer a doubtful, or even a merely theoretical question.

A report had got abroad, at one time, that Christian Africaner and his people were about to leave Namaqualand, with the intention of settling in the neighbourhood of Griqua Town. When Mr. Moffat was on his journey from Africaner's kraal to Lattakoo, he met with a whole tribe of people removing from their former place of abode in quest of new settlements. The reason assigned by them for changing their situation was, the rumour of Africaner's removal. "Africaner," said they, "is the bond of peace between all the tribes in this part of the world, and, should he leave it, the whole country will be filled with robbery and murder." When they knew that their apprehension of Africaner's re-

moval was without foundation, they were quite overjoyed, and instantly turned the heads of their cattle, again to take up their abode in the place which they had forsaken.

While the missionaries have been employed in locating the savages among whom they labour, teaching them industrious habits, creating a demand for British manufactures, and increasing their dependence on the colony, there is not a single instance of a tribe thus enjoying the labours of a missionary making war against the colonists, either to injure their persons or deprive them of their property.

Missionary stations are the most efficient agents which can be employed to promote the internal strength of our colonies, and the cheapest and best military posts that a wise government can employ to defend its frontier against the predatory incursions of savage tribes*. While the Caffers, who command about one hundred and fifty miles of our frontier only, have been the scourge and terror of the colony of the Cape, those who have enjoyed the labours of missionaries are, without a single exception, friendly to its security and interests. From the period of Africaner's conversion to Christianity to the present moment, there has not been one drop of colonial blood shed by any of the tribes on the Great Orange river, nor one ounce of powder and shot directed against the colony †.

* See page 72 of this volume. The defeat of the Mantatee hordes by the Griquas, in 1823, is a strong case in point.

† The disturbances which have been occasioned by the Bergenaars on the Orange river, and some slight incursions which have been lately made by the plundering tribes of Bechuanas to recover their stolen cattle, furnish no valid objection to the above remarks. Mr. Melvill's appointment at Griqua Town, with-

Had the system which was carried on along the northern frontier of the colony, previous to the introduction of missionaries into that district, continued, I am warranted in saying, when the extent of the frontier is taken into consideration, that a thousand men would not have been more than necessary for its defence; and, after the preceding statements, I leave every unprejudiced reader to say to whom we are indebted for this saving of expense, and for the security which has been so long enjoyed by the colonists scattered over that country.

In corroboration of the opinions now advanced on this subject, I beg leave to subjoin the following extract of an official letter from Mr. Melvill, the government agent at Griqua Town, addressed to the colonial office.—Mr. Melvill's testimony in favour of missionary labours is, indeed, only the opinion of an individual; but his opinion was founded upon an intimate acquaintance with this subject, and it is no small recommendation of his sincerity that he must have known that the truth which he there stated was one of the most unwelcome he could have communicated, at the time, to the

out means to make his authority respected, was protested against when it took place by the agent of the London Missionary Society, and by all the missionaries in that quarter. But even the division which was occasioned by this impolitic measure would not have been attended with much injury, had his advice been afterwards taken by the colonial government. The evil, however, instead of being put down at Mr. Melvill's recommendation, was neglected by the colonial government; while it was greatly increased by those within the colony, who, instead of discouraging this banditti, entered into a traffic with them, supplying them with guns, with powder and shot, and spirits and clothing, in exchange for the booty of which they plundered the tribes beyond them.

high quarter to which it was addressed, and that he could not do any thing more likely to give offence than to defend the missions:—

"In adverting," says he, "to the danger to which the northern frontier is exposed, I must give it as my decided opinion, that it is missionary influence alone that has hitherto preserved peace between the colony and the tribes beyond it. In the instance of Griqua Town already mentioned, when the Bergenaars came to attack it, the great respect attached to the character of a missionary was most apparent. The spirit of war and revenge that raged against the inhabitants of that place was allayed, and peace established by the presence of Mr. Sas.

"The peace now existing between the Bechuanas and Corannas, round about the Griqua country, (tribes that maintained a constant warfare in former days,) has its origin and continuance in the mission of Griqua Town.

"The Namaqua chief Africaner was a noted murderer and plunderer, and was a terror to the colonists; but it is a well-known fact, that, after a missionary went to reside with him, he was so changed as to become a promoter of peace, not only with the colony, but with all the surrounding tribes; and he received from the colonial government a most liberal gift of a waggon that cost eight hundred rix-dollars, as a testimony of the governor's good-will towards him, which was an act of the best policy for securing the frontier. Some instances can be produced, if necessary, in further proof of what I have advanced.

"I am satisfied, by what has come under my own observation, during a residence of two years and a

half as government agent at Griqua Town, that the only means of civilizing the savage tribes, and preserving the peace of the frontier, is to encourage the missions beyond the colony. I have no manner of doubt but that, if the mission in that country fail, for want of a check upon the Bergenaars, the whole of that part of the country on the frontier will be infested with robbers and murderers. The missionaries have always allayed the spirit of irritation, and prevented contests between the colonists and the savage tribes; their presence preventing the former from dealing unjustly with the savages, and the latter from retaliating when ill-treated by the colonists."

We have stated in the preceding pages of this work, and I may here add, that that statement was made on the authority of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser, whose knowledge in military affairs, and whose long residence on the eastern frontier of the colony, rendered him a competent judge of the merits of this question,—that the institution of Theopolis has, from its establishment on the frontier of the colony in 1813, proved equivalent to a military station; and we shall be excused if we here add a few remarks on this subject. The object of our missionary institutions is not to train up soldiers for the army, or to defend our colonies against the attacks of hostile nations; but, if these incidental advantages arise indirectly from the labours of our missionaries, it gives them additional claims upon the humanity and protection of the government under which they labour. How far the labours of our missionaries have contributed to the defence of the eastern frontier of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, the following statements may suffice to illustrate:—

"At this very time (1799)," says Lichtenstein, "there were hovering about the borders a number of vagrant Hottentots, who, during the war, had gained their living as partisans of either side; one while among the Caffers, plundering the dwellings of the colonists,—then assisting the colonists in seizing the cattle of the Caffers. In this way they had, in more than one instance, been secretly the occasion of the struggle being carried on with still increasing animosity. These people were collected together by Vanderkemp, for the purpose of instructing them in the Christian religion *."

"This zealous and intelligent man," says Barrow, in referring to Dr. Vanderkemp, "on finding the Caffers were not disposed to profit by his instructions, established himself, under the sanction of government, near the Sunday river, in order to try his success with the more tractable Hottentots. His village soon became an asylum for the poor fugitives, who, after their skirmishes with the boors, had concealed themselves among the rocks and thickets †."

"In many places," says the same traveller, "between the Great Fish river and the Knysna, the desolating effects of the war carried on between the Caffers and the colonists in 1800, 1801, 1802, and 1803, are still visible; and, for obvious reasons, the colonists suffered more from the Hottentots than from the Caffers. The principal object of the Caffers, in their incursions into the colony, was plunder; but to this desire, in the Hottentots, was superadded the thirst of revenge.

* Lichtenstein, vol. i., p. 236. † Barrow, vol. ii., p. 133.

"In the neighbourhood of Plettenberg's bay, several farmers were killed defending their property, and their wives and daughters were taken prisoners. The women were about a week in the possession of their enemies. The Hottentots were the only individuals in the party from whom they suffered any rudeness; and the Caffers, so far from joining the Hottentots in this brutal part of their conduct, every night formed a ring round the women, to protect them from the violence of the Hottentots."

It is further remarked by Barrow, that an enemy might at all times create a great deal of mischief by putting arms into the hands of the Caffers and Hottentots, who might very easily be encouraged to drive the whole colony within the limits of the Cape peninsula; a measure by which the garrison and the settlers would be reduced to the danger of starving for want of provisions.

The government and the farmers are now so far from having any thing to apprehend from the Hottentots, that they have been of the greatest service to the colony in our late wars with the Caffers. In 1818, at the commencement of the Caffer war, Lieutenant-Colonel Willshire, who was then commandant on the Caffer frontier, proposed that Mr. Ulbricht, the missionary at Theopolis, and the people under his care, should retire to Graham's Town. On the intention of Colonel Willshire being made known to Colonel Cuyler, who was much better acquainted with the frontier than the commandant, he instantly gave it as his opinion that the removal of the Hottentots from Theopolis was a measure which would be followed by the greatest injury to the colony. "Theopolis," said Colonel Cuyler, "is

the key to Uitenhage; and, if the missionaries and the Hottentots are removed from that station, the whole of this district (meaning the district of Uitenhage) would be overrun by the Caffers." Had Major (afterwards Colonel) Fraser been commandant on this occasion, as was his right, such a proposal would have never issued from him; but Lieutenant-Colonel Willshire knew nothing of Caffers and Hottentots but that they were worthless savages, because their complexion differed from his own.

The opinion advanced by Colonel Cuyler in this case was at that time the opinion of the best-informed military men on the frontier. Major Fraser being asked his sentiments on Colonel Cuyler's opinion respecting the measure under consideration, instantly replied, "Colonel Cuyler is perfectly right; had the people of Theopolis been then removed, the thousands of Caffers so long occupied by them might have desolated a great part of the district of Uitenhage."*

Bethelsdorp is about seventy miles from Theopolis, and fourteen miles from the principal town of Uitenhage.

* In addition to the numerous facts adduced, showing the importance of our missions, as a cheap defence to the colonists, I am happy to avail myself of the testimonies of military men; but it is more than we have a right to expect from human nature, that men in general should give opinions so much at variance with the interests of their particular profession. Had the missionaries been encouraged, as they should have been, by the colonial government, one-tenth of the military force employed on the Caffer frontier would have been sufficient for the protection of the colony; but it is not to be supposed that any class of men profiting by the patronage and expenditure of a large military establishment, would be very well pleased to see the sources of this patronage and emolument destroyed by the disinterested labours of missionaries.

and, under other circumstances, might have checked the progress of such incursions; but at the period referred to, all the active men belonging to this institution able to bear arms, and not at service among the boors, to the number of seventy, were employed in the Caffer wars and in the defence of Graham's Town.

Theopolis suffered much from the late Caffer war; it was in a state of blockade for above two months, and was attacked for three nights successively by above three thousand Caffers. The skill and bravery of the Hottentots, during these awful nights, as I heard them most emphatically termed by that people, is scarcely exceeded by anything recorded in history. Against this immense body, one hundred and eleven guns were all that the settlement could muster; but the people fought for their wives and their children, and they did wonders. The Hottentots were posted in half-dozens all round the village, and the firing was so well kept up, that the place appeared as surrounded with a wall of fire. The darkness of the night, and the torrents of rain that were all the time pouring down, (for the Caffers chose to attack under the covert of night, when it rained, knowing that the Hottentots could not take aim under night, and hoping that the rain would impede their firing,) the savage yells of the Caffers when they made their attacks, the roar of the musketry, and the dreadful gleam of light arising from the firing, making the surrounding darkness more awful, together with the terror of the women and children, presented a scene, that made the very flesh creep when the people described it, with the feelings excited by their recollections. In these awful nights, the Caffers came on with their

horrid war-cries, in masses, like an overwhelming tide, and were as often driven back, like the waves that dash against the beach and recoil into the deep. While these scenes were going on, our worthy missionary was assembled with the women and children, in the place of worship, lifting up his heart and his hands to God, in the use of that weapon best suited to his dispositions and profession, and which was so powerful in the hand of Moses, when Israel prevailed over Amalek. The people of Theopolis received at the time great credit from the officers of the army, for their defence, and they certainly deserved it.

Had the Hottentots now at our institutions been hovering about the borders of the colony, in 1819, in the condition in which they were in 1800, 1801, 1802, and 1803, when they are described as hordes of plundering and murdering savages, and had they joined the Caffers, as formerly, and directed their inroads into the colony, instead of bravely opposing them as they have done,—I do not mean to affirm that we should have lost the colony, or that we should not, in the end, have been able to drive them back into their own borders, but one thing is certain, the colony would have been in a very different situation at this moment from what it is. The colonists have lost much, and have suffered many inconveniences, from the late war; but, had the Hottentots who joined them in repelling the Caffers been leagued with their enemies, the consequences which might have followed are so appalling, that we shrink from the contemplation of them.

It has been urged, as an objection against our missionary stations beyond the colonial limits, that they furnish a refuge for runaway slaves, Hottentots, and

deserters from the colony. Since much stress has been laid upon this objection, we shall inquire a little into its merits. Before blame can be attached to the missions on this ground, it would be fair to inquire whether missionaries actually encourage desertion from the colony?—whether it is in their power to comply with the wishes of government, in sending such persons back within the boundary?—whether the evil has been increased by the missionary stations?—and whether it would be removed by their abolition?

I am happy to say, that there is not a single fact in existence, by which the affirmative of one of these questions can be established. In answer to the first, it is necessary only to state, that these fugitives have generally proved very great obstructions to our missions, and the terror of our missionaries, and that the missionaries have always been as glad to get rid of such characters as the colonists have been to have them restored to their services.

In reply to the second query, it may be remarked, that if persons coming to an institution were really ascertained to have left the colony, it would, evidently, be beyond the power of a missionary, without the concurrence of the chief and tribe among whom he laboured, to prevent their residence at his station. While they continue savages, the missionary's influence must be extremely limited; he is frequently represented to the savages by deserters from the colony as the spy of government*, and as sent among them to bring them into slavery; and a disposition on his part to use any other weapon than that of persuasion,

* See page 65 of this volume.

would confirm such injurious suspicions, and endanger his influence and his life. Besides the difficulties already stated, it is obvious that a deserter could not be sent from a missionary station to the colony without an escort; on some occasions, that escort might have a journey of three or four weeks; and how is a missionary, without authority and without means, to put such a plan into execution?

In reply to the third query, it may be asked, did not slaves, Hottentots, and soldiers leave the colony, before there ever were any missionaries in South Africa?

The Little Namaquas, many of the Great Namaquas, many of the Corannas, and the Griquas, were once within the colony. To destroy the argument brought against our stations, from the circumstance of individuals sometimes leaving the colony, and seeking a residence at them, it is sufficient for my purpose, to show that people left the colony before we had any missionaries beyond its limits. Any inquiry into the causes in which these emigrations may have originated, does not at present come within my province; my business is with the fact, and in the present argument, with every reasonable man, this fact is conclusive.

The fact is incontrovertible, that Hottentots and slaves left the colony in greater numbers before we had any missionary stations beyond its limits than they have done since; and it is no less certain, that were the missionary stations abolished to-morrow, the evil, instead of being lessened, would be greatly increased. Notwithstanding the difficulties which the missionaries have to encounter in complying with the wishes of the colonial government in this point, slaves who have fled

from the colony have been seized by the Griquas, and sent by them to the drostdy of Graaff-Reinet. This circumstance refutes the charge brought against the Griquas, that their country is an asylum for such persons; and this fact being generally known, it has had a salutary influence in preventing others from deserting from the colony in the hope that they might meet with a residence and protection among the Griquas, whilst it affords a pledge of the inclination of the Griquas to cultivate the friendship of the colonists, and their readiness, in future, to comply with the wishes of the colonial government as far as practicable.

We have been told that the colony is in danger from the missionaries labouring among the savage tribes beyond the limits. Extraordinary as it may appear, it has been gravely asserted, as a reason for opposing the missions, that when the missionaries have attained a greater ascendency among the savage tribes beyond the borders of the colony, they may get themselves transformed into so many military leaders of those tribes, set the colonial government at defiance, and bring war on the colony. Can such an objection to missionaries deserve a serious answer? Wars and fightings, robberies and murders, do not spring from the gospel of peace. Is it natural to suppose that our missionaries can ever think of adopting measures that would affix an eternal blot to their characters, cut them off from their friends and their resources, and expose them to all the consequences connected with rebellion and bloodshed? Is there a single circumstance in our missions to justify such a supposition? Point out the missionary that has ever so far forgotten his duty to himself, to his God, and his country? But we do not

stop here: we not only deny that there is any thing to attach to our missionaries the slightest suspicion of such atrocious designs; but we can prove from the indubitable facts already stated, that our missionaries have conciliated the tribes on the borders of the colony, to the colonial government, and have been the instruments of preserving them in peace with the colony.

The abolition of the missionary stations beyond the limits of the colony has been recommended to government under the idea, that should the missionaries be called in, the people would accompany them. If nothing is said of the policy or justice of such a measure, we have no hesitation in affirming that it cannot be realized, till the colonial government shall adopt a more humane system of policy toward the injured natives.

Some of the greatest difficulties the missionaries have had to encounter in attempting the conversion of savages, have arisen from the suspicions instilled into their minds by designing men, that it was the intention of the missionaries to bring them into a state of subjection to the colony; and any attempts to persuade them to comply with such a scheme would, in present circumstances, prove unsuccessful, alienate their minds from their teachers, and destroy their confidence in the colonial government. For an illustration of the truth of this sentiment, it is necessary only to advert to the history of the Griqua mission.

Were the missionaries removed to-morrow, the people would remain where they are, and the only question is, whether it is better they should continue under the civilizing influence of Christian instruction, or be allowed to relapse into the savage state out of which

they have so lately emerged. A number of engines are necessary to raise a savage people upon the scale of being; but you have only to strip them of the schools and teachers to make them retrograde. Deprive the tribes beyond the colony, of missionaries, and you will speedily see your frontiers in the situation in which they were twenty years ago, theatres of injustice and crime.

Whilst the colonial government was publishing its proclamation prohibiting all contraband trade between the colonists and the natives in the interior, I am sorry to say that the missionaries and the colonial agent at Griqua Town met with no encouragement to furnish information against the colonists on this subject. A short time before my late visit to Griqua Town, Mr. Melvill made a complaint against the colonists; and in the reply he had to this communication, the ground of his complaint was questioned, and he was called upon to adduce his proofs. Assisted by Waterboer, the chief, he next day seized a boor engaged in the illegal traffic, and instantly sent information of the fact to the colony, stating, at the same time, the incontrovertible nature of the proofs which he had in his hands. While the missionaries saw that their complaints against the colonists were seldom productive of any beneficial results, they had the mortification to find every complaint urged against them and their labours, from whatever quarter it might come, turned into matter of grave accusation. As an additional illustration of this statement, the following fact will suffice.

Mr. Campbell and I began our journey into the interior in 1819, towards the end of April. The first places we visited were, Stellenbosch, the Paarl, &c.

Africaner accompanied us as far as Tulbagh, where we separated to pursue our different routes. In the month of August, when the deputation was at Bethelsdorp, I received a communication from the Colonial Office, containing the deposition of a person of the name of Peterson, against some of our missionaries, and more particularly against the kraal of Africaner. The affidavit of Peterson contained answers to between forty and fifty questions, which were put to the accuser before a commission of the worshipful court of justice, by Mr. Lind, his Majesty's deputy fiscal.

In Peterson's affidavit, the kraal of Africaner is represented as possessing seventy muskets, the missionaries are accused of supplying it with powder and shot, and the greater part of the men having muskets are represented as deserters from the colony. In a letter from the Colonial Office, accompanying the copy of the affidavit transmitted to me, it is stated, that the robberies and murders committed by this kraal were probably effected by the powder and lead which had been furnished by the missionaries. I was informed at the same time, that it was not the intention of government to prosecute the offending parties in this case, and that it was confidently hoped that things would be better conducted in future. These, however, were very heavy charges to sit quietly under, especially as I did not know but the affidavit might have been sent off by that time to the Colonial Office in Downing Street; but fortunately for the relief of my own mind, Mr. Moffat, who had been nearly two years at the kraal of Africaner, was then at Bethelsdorp along with the deputation.

Mr. Moffat had never seen Peterson, but he had

gone to Africaner's kraal shortly after Peterson had left it, and he was intimately acquainted with his character and with the circumstances of a criminating nature referred to in the affidavit, which he was prepared to disprove. In my reply to this communication, I stated to the colonial secretary, that Mr. Moffat was with me at the time I received the affidavit of Peterson, that Mr. Moffat was well acquainted with the character of this man, that his Excellency does not appear to have been aware that Peterson was formerly an inhabitant of Robben Island, (the Botany Bay of the Cape;) that he was obliged, on account of his crimes, to leave the colony; that there is scarcely an individual among the tribes whom he defames, who would attach any importance either to his word or to his oath; and that if his Excellency wished for further information respecting him, Mr. Moffat would be ready to gratify his Excellency on that point, on his arrival in Cape Town.

In reply to this letter, I received a communication, dated Aug. 19, 1819. The colonial secretary writes,—"His Lordship is perfectly aware of Peterson's character; but, although that may be as bad as it is represented, it will not disprove assertions which are corroborated by much additional evidence."

It might be owing to my inexperience at that period, but I certainly was very much astonished that his Lordship, knowing the character of Peterson, should have received from him an affidavit containing such grave charges against the missionaries and the people of this kraal. A man's character may not disprove his assertions; but his character may be so bad as to make it improper to receive from him any legal affidavit, and this was evidently the case in the present instance.

On our arrival in Cape Town, we found the colonial government heartily ashamed of the use they had made of Peterson. I offered to produce two witnesses, Mr. Moffat and Mr. Ebner, to disprove his statement; but this evidence was not any longer required. The accuser of our missions had emitted his affidavit a few days only, when he was apprehended in the streets of Cape Town, robbing a stall; and he was, by this time, again among the felons in Robben Island.

After the reception Africaner had met with from the colonial government only a few months before, and the accurate information it possessed of the conduct of Africaner, from the time of his conversion to Christianity down to that period, the whole of this proceeding appeared to me, at the time, perfectly unaccountable.

CHAPTER XIII.

Mr. Buxton's Motion in Parliament, in 1824, calling for Information respecting the Condition of the Coloured Population at the Cape.—Unsatisfactory Character of the Documents produced.—Remarks of the Commissioners of Inquiry.—Examination of the Parliamentary "Return."—Grants of Land to Hottentots.—Lord Charles Somerset's Statement.—Mr. George Thompson's Statement.—Case of the Hottentot Zwarts.—Actual State of the Aborigines in regard to holding Land.

THE resolutions which passed through the House of Commons by acclamation, on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, in June 1822, in reference to the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and the appointment of his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry to visit that colony, having originated in the complaints sent to England relative to the oppressed state of the natives of South Africa, it was to be expected that those Commissioners, on their arrival at the place which was to be the sphere of their labours, should pay an early attention to that part of their instructions which was to direct their inquiries on this subject. Shortly after their arrival, in the first interview I had with them in their official capacity, I had the honour to lay before them most of the information relating to the Hottentots and Bushmen contained in the preceding parts of these volumes, and several documents which will be found in the Appendix.

On this occasion I put into their hands the facts I

had collected respecting the commandoes carried on against the Bushmen; the statement I have given relative to the recal of the missionaries from the Bushman country; the proclamations of 1809 and 1812, with my strictures on them, now printed in the first volume of this work; remarks on the opgaaf, or taxes on the natives, which follow the strictures on the proclamation of 1812; together with several other papers relating to the same subject, which it is unnecessary to specify in this list. The Bethelsdorp correspondence, and several other papers relating to the sufferings of the missionaries and the people at our missionary institutions, were brought under their notice at the same time.

In November, 1823, they made their tour into the interior, when they visited the missionary stations of Caledon institution (formerly Zuurbrak), Pacaltsdorp, and Bethelsdorp. The state of our missionary settlements; the numerous complaints I had laid before the colonial government, in reference to the oppression suffered at these stations; the nature of the documents I had put into their own hands; and the appeal which I had been compelled to make, which led to the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, rendered it necessary that I should meet them at the missionary institutions, and be present while their investigations continued. Having grounded my proofs of the assertions I had made more on the hand-writing of the accused parties than on oral testimony, my witnesses could not be intimidated or corrupted.

Immediately after this investigation was over, I stated the result to Mr. Buxton; and, on the 13th of April 1824, that gentleman made a motion in the House of Commons for copies and extracts of all correspondence

relative to the condition of the Hottentots, &c. &c. at the Cape of Good Hope during the last five years.

On the 23d March, 1827, Mr. Wilmot Horton, Under Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, laid on the table of the House of Commons a document purporting to be a "Return to an Address of the Honourable House, dated 13th April, 1824." This document was ordered to be printed,—and, such as it is, it is all the return that has been obtained in pursuance of Mr. Buxton's motion.

It cannot escape observation, as a remarkable feature in the document under consideration, purporting to be a return to an address of the Honourable House, that the Commissioners are entirely passed by, and the parliament and the British public are presented with an exparte statement from Lord Charles Somerset and the other parties implicated.

It is impossible to conceive of any thing more meagre and unsatisfactory, even in the shape of an official document, than these "*Extracts of all correspondence*" relative to the condition and treatment of all slaves, Hottentots, and Bushmen at the Cape of Good Hope. On this subject we have here presented to us the proclamation of Lord Caledon in 1809; the amount of the Hottentot population according to the census of 1821; and an explanation from Lord Charles Somerset, accounting for the circumstance that so few of this people held land. In a document purporting to contain a statement relative to the condition and treatment of the Hottentots, we might, at least, have expected all the different proclamations of the colonial government affecting that class of people; but I find a very important proclamation, relative to the power of the local

functionaries over the children of the Hottentots, has, for some reason, been omitted. It is difficult to conceive how even Mr. Wilmot Horton will be able to defend the mode of proceeding adopted in this case. It cannot be pleaded as an apology, that it was no part of the instructions given to his Majesty's Commissioners to inquire into the state of the natives of South Africa; or that they had not time, previous to the printing of this "Return," to make up their report upon the subject; or that they did not, on their arrival in the colony, view the concerns of the Hottentots as deserving of their notice. In the reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry upon the administration of the government of the Cape of Good Hope, and upon the finances of the the colony, printed in May, 1827, are several important statements. Having mentioned the difficulties they had to encounter in their attempts to elicit information from the colonists, or the functionaries of the colonial government, they make the following remarks:—

"In making inquiries into the condition of these classes, we derived much assistance from the observations and statements submitted to us by the agent of the London Missionary Society; but we found it necessary, at the same time, to subject them to a strict and tedious investigation; and in this, as in all other instances of complaint, to keep as distinct as possible the positive effects of individual misconduct, and those which were attributable to any prevailing system, which it may be necessary to correct or supersede.

"Nearly the whole of the time that we passed at Uitenhage, and some other places which we visited in the course of our circuit through the colony, was devoted to these subjects; after having arrived at the convic-

tion, which subsequent experience has confirmed, that the only practicable method of acquiring information upon the effect of any general regulations to which either of the three classes of the labouring population, consisting of slaves, Hottentots, and prize negroes, were subject, was that of a patient examination of such cases as had been brought to the notice of the magistrates, and had not been redressed."

Before we proceed to make our remarks upon the statements contained in the printed Return, it may be proper, in this place, to advert to the following facts:—

One of the objects of the appointment of the Commissioners was, to obtain information on the subject of Mr. Buxton's motion; and yet we see the Colonial Department at home calling for information from Lord Charles Somerset on the different points included in this motion, while the Commissioners were in the colony, and, perhaps, two years after their tour into the interior, when the subject of the coloured population came under their consideration. We have also seen, from the reports of the Commissioners, that this was one of the first subjects which engaged their attention at the Cape of Good Hope; that it occupied much of their time during their tour into the interior in 1823; and it appears, from the date of their Report on this subject, that there was sufficient time for it to have been in the Colonial Office in Downing Street before the Return to Mr. Buxton's motion was printed*.—It was natural to suppose that Lord Charles Somerset would answer these inquiries in the way he has

* This Return was ordered to be printed on March 23, 1827, and the Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry are dated 6th September 1826.

done; but what was the use of sending out Commissioners to inquire into complaints laid before the colonial department at home against the colonial government at the Cape, if the report of the Commissioners was to be passed by, and the Governor's own defence to be received, without being subjected to the remarks of the Commissioners, or even to a single check?

The first part of the papers now under consideration relating to the condition and treatment of slaves at the Cape of Good Hope, not coming within the scope of this work, requires no remarks.

On the second part, relating to the condition and treatment of Hottentots, the nature of the returns made to Earl Bathurst's office, and the illustrations of this subject given in the first volume of this work, on the proclamations of the Earl of Caledon and Lord Howden, together with remarks on the opgaaf case, and the oppressions of the people at the missionary stations, supersede the necessity of entering much into detail on this subject in this place. In regard to the return of "all correspondence relating to the condition and treatment of the Hottentots," it is, perhaps, enough to say, that we have nothing on this subject, except the proclamation of the Earl of Caledon, of 1809, and a single line, in a letter addressed to the court of justice, respecting Earl Bathurst's regulations, in relation to slaves.

The third part of this Return, relates to grants of lands made to Hottentots and Bushmen. Although Bushmen are included in the Returns, I do not perceive any accounts of lands having been granted to them. In the Return, I observe a few acres of land have been granted to six Hottentots. It was never [redacted] intention to deny that a few individuals may have

had some favour in this way; but we assert, that the Hottentots are incapacitated from holding lands; that the colonial government has hitherto been opposed to their holding lands, as a people; and we have already proved that no attention has been shown to the tenures by which they have held the lands they have cultivated.

In the table which is subjoined, we have the names of the following individuals who are represented as holding lands in their own right.

"Grants of land at the Cape of Good Hope, made to Hottentots and Bosjesmen, during the last seven years.

District.	Date of the Grant.	Grantee.	Extent of Land.
Cape	Oct. 15, 1817.	Jacques Davidson (Hottentot)	3 morgens *, 67 roods, perpetual quit-rent.
Stellenbosch	July 1, 1827	Saartje (Bastard Hottentot)	2 morg., ditto.
Ditto	Oct. 27, 1817	Moses Balie (Bastard Hottentot)	24 morgn. 136 roods, ditto.
Ditto	Oct. 27, 1817	Carel Fortuin (Bastard Hottentot)	29 morg., 410 roods, ditto.
Ditto	Feb. 4, 1819	Carel (Hottentot)	12 morg., ditto.
Worcester	Sept. 24, 1821	Abraham Zwarts (Hottentot)	27 morg., 194 roods, ditto.

"It is to be observed, that it is the practice of Hottentots, when they are not in service, to repair to one of the Moravian or other religious institutions. The applications for land, therefore, by this class, are very rare.

(Signed) "CHARLES HENRY SOMERSET."

"*Cape of Good Hope, Oct.* 16, 1824."

* A morgen is equal to two English acres. According to this official table, therefore, the whole extent of land held by the Hottentot race, upon *legal rights*, scarcely extends to two hundred acres. The usual extent of a boor's farm is six thousand acres. During the last seven years, Lord C. Somerset has granted many *hundred thousand* acres to the latter class of people.

On the preceding table, and on the purpose for which it is brought forward, it will be necessary to make a few remarks. A right to hold land supposes the possessor to have a security, which is guaranteed to him by the laws of the colony, which may enable him to dispose of his property by sale, or transmit it to his children, and which cannot be vacated but by his own voluntary consent, or by the commission of crimes, to which forfeiture is annexed. The Hottentots were the first occupants of the lands of the colony, and, till lately, a few individuals of that nation were to be found cultivating small spots, and they might have the promise of the local authorities, that they should be permitted to enjoy their possessions; but the details we have to give will suffice to show that the tenure by which even these favoured individuals have held their little possessions has been during the pleasure, merely, of the local authorities of the districts in which they might be residing. The remark of Lord Charles Somerset, that the small extent of the land held by the Hottentots is to be ascribed to the want of application on their part, for further grants, is at variance with the history of the colony, and with facts.

Mr. Thompson travelled in the colony so late as 1823 and 1824, and his political sentiments and relations, and the additional circumstance, that his book has been dedicated, by permission, to Earl Bathurst, entitle his testimony to the confidence of those who might be disposed to question any authority, which could be supposed to have a greater leaning to the side of the oppressed aborigines, than to that of the colonial government. Yet we find in his work the following statements relative to this point:—

"An hour or two more brought us among some secondary hills, which run to the Kamiesberg, and among these hills we reached, in the course of the evening, a place called Riet Fonteyn, occupied by a Griqua, named 'Dirk Boukes.' The occupant of this place seemed more like a substantial boor than a degraded Hottentot. He had large flocks and herds, and had cultivated a considerable quantity of lands, and his establishment altogether was on a very respectable footing, excepting his dwelling, which was only a temporary hut, in the style of the Namaquas. The father of our host occupies another place in the Kamiesberg, and he has seven or eight brothers, all of whom, likewise, possess property. This Griqua family may, therefore, be considered as in circumstances much superior to the generality of their caste. It is a great hardship, in regard to this class of people, that they have hitherto been systematically prevented from acquiring landed property in the colony. In consequence of this, they are generally driven entirely beyond the boundary, and tempted to become outlaws and robbers; for if any of them occupy and improve a vacant spot within the limit, they are always liable to be dispossessed by some boor obtaining a grant of it from the government, who thus reaps the fruit of all their improvements and industry."

The system described by Sparrman* has been continued from 1775, the period in which that respectable traveller visited the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, down to the present day; and it is absurd to affirm that the government was *disposed* to grant lands to

* See Sparrman, vol. i., p. 241; see, also, this work, vol. i., p. 57.

the Hottentots, while it continued to sanction the daily encroachments of the colonists, which is here the ground of complaint.

The history of Abraham Zwarts, one of the Hottentots mentioned in the preceding table as having received a grant of land from the government, may be adduced as an illustration of the little attention paid by the local authorities of the colony to the rights of the aborigines. Mr. Thompson gives the following account of his visit to the place of this Hottentot:—

"Having heard of an industrious Hottentot, who possessed a small location in this vicinity, I prevailed on Mr. Bergh to accompany me thither. We reached it, after an arduous ascent into the Cedar Mountains, in a nook of which it is situated. The proprietor (Abraham Zwarts) showed us his whole premises with pride and pleasure. His farm consists of about fifty-four acres, three of which are sown with wheat. Besides this, he raises annually about one hundred pounds of tobacco, and has upwards of two hundred fruit-trees in bearing, the produce of which he dries and sells at the drostdy. His live-stock amounted to sixteen head of cattle, twenty goats, and forty sheep. His family consisted of a little colony of more than twenty-four children and grandchildren, all of whom, so far as their years admit, assist in the cultivation of the little farm, and are supported and clothed by its produce.

"This is, perhaps, the only instance of a Hottentot having obtained a grant of land in the colony; and the circumstances are curious and worthy of being commemorated, to evince what might be anticipated from Hottentot industry, if that long-oppressed race received due encouragement to exert themselves. Zwarts

had been permitted by the deputy landdrost Bergh, to occupy this wild place (or rather to continue to occupy it,) which no boor then considered worth the asking for, and he had made considerable improvement upon it, when, upon the arrival of the (British) settlers, he was warned to evacuate it, in order that it might be added to their location; and he would have been then unceremoniously dispossessed, except for the laudable humanity of Mr. Parker and Captain Synnot, who represented the hardship of the case to the colonial government, and obtained for the poor man a full grant of the place on perpetual quit rent. The respectable appearance of Zwarts and his family, and the evidences of their industry everywhere apparent, prove how well the favour of government has been in this instance bestowed, and leads us to regret the more, that it should be a singular and solitary instance of such favour shown to the Aborigines of the country. How can industry or improvement be expected from a class of people long degraded into bondmen, and systematically prevented from emerging from that condition?"

To the account given by Mr. Bergh to Mr. Thompson, I beg leave to add the correspondence of Mr. Parker in relation to the attempt made to deprive Zwarts of Varkens Fonteyn (as the spot is named,) a circumstance adverted to by Mr. Thompson in his account.

"To the Rev. Dr. Philip.

"Dear Sir, *Cape Town, 17th August,* 1822.

"Deeply interested as you must be in promoting Christianity among the heathen, you will join with me in regretting, that the local authorities should, in some

instances, have acted on principles diametrically opposite to Christianity; and I believe you will also fully agree with me how ineffectual must be the exertions of zealous Christians, when some who actually acknowledge themselves to be of that body, disgrace the first injunction, 'to do as you would be done by.' The colonial government attempted to locate my large party of settlers in the district of Clanwilliam, in which there were several Hottentot families scattered between the almost inaccessible kloofs of the mountains. Immediately after my arrival, I received the following letter from Mr. O. M. Bergh, the landdrost:—

'Letter from Mr. O. M. Bergh to Mr. Parker.'

Clan William, 22d June, 1820.

'SIR,

'In answer to your letter of this morning, I am to inform you, that it is the intention of his Excellency, the acting governor, to locate your party on the Kleine Valley, with as much land as will be sufficient, to the amount of the quantity of acres allotted to you. The Kleine Valley having been surveyed, it proved not to be large enough, containing altogether, with a small spot named Varkens Fonteyn, but 3,200 acres, of which you will be at liberty to take possession whenever it will be convenient to you.

'I shall request Mr. Tullatun, the land-surveyor, to-morrow to point out to you the boundaries of the said land, and I trust it would be desirable for you to content yourself for the present until his Excellency the acting governor shall have arrived.

'I have the honour to be,

'Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) 'O. M. BERGH.'

"Reply to O. M. Bergh, Esq., Deputy Landdrost of Clan William.

'*Kleine Valley*, 1*st July*, 1820.

'SIR,

'Pursuant to your letter of the 22d ultimo, I went this day accompanied by Mr. Tullitun, the land-surveyor, to view Varkens Fonteyn. Although there is no road to it, I do not object to the land, as far as its extent goes; but there is a circumstance attending it which induces me to pause before I take possession of it, namely, that it is already occupied by an industrious Hottentot family of the name of Zwarts. Before I left Europe to settle in South Africa, it never was my intention to be the cause of distressing the peaceable inhabitants of the soil who were in possession thereof.

'Zwarts's industry and superior cleanliness struck me to be such as to give him strong claims to the consideration of government. I came out here determined not to be the instrument of unhappiness to any individual, and I should ill discharge my duty as a man and a Christian, were I to accept of Varkens Fonteyn, to the ruin of a poor Hottentot family.

'When his Excellency arrives, he will, I am convinced, act in a manner consistent with justice and humanity.

'Sir Rufane Donkin will, I hope, permit Zwarts to enjoy the fruits of his exertions, and continue him at Varkens Fonteyn, as an example to his brethren for their future encouragement and improvement.

'I have the honour to be, Sir,

'Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) 'W. PARKER.'

"Several attempts were made by some of my free settlers to procure this secluded spot, which was brought into a high state of cultivation by Zwarts's industry, but I never would consent to his being deprived of it without full remuneration. I have submitted this statement to you, that it may appear as one convincing proof of the inattention, on the part of official men, to the rights of humanity; and how must the difficulty be increased to the exemplary missionaries in diffusing a knowledge and a love of the gospel, when its first maxims are not attended to by those who are Christians by name?

"I am, &c.,

(Signed) "WM. PARKER."

It is obvious, from the above correspondence, that the colonial government is entitled to very little respect for its indulgence to poor Zwarts: for had it not been for the disinterested conduct, in this instance, of Mr. Parker, he would have been turned out of his farm, with all its improvements, without ceremony, and without any compensation being made to him for his losses. The refusal of Mr. Parker to accept of his farm, for the reasons he assigned, was, in the first instance, treated with contempt; but the transaction had become public, and on its being seen that Zwarts had got friends, and that an account of his treatment, should he be ejected from his farm, was likely to reach England, it was left to remain in his possession.

The manner in which lands have been granted to the missionary institutions, and the conduct of the colonial government towards these institutions, is one of the last points the government can appeal to, in proof of its dis-

position to grant land to the Hottentots. Those institutions commenced at a period when the lands granted to them were of no importance to the colonists; and while, during a late period, several of them have been put down by the colonial government, and the lands on which they stood given to the colonists, the lands belonging to others of them have been curtailed, and attempts have been made to crush them entirely, and to alienate the remaining lands from the objects for which they were given, to grant them to the colonists. All the lands formerly belonging to the missionary institutions in the Bushman country are now occupied by boors. After the details which have been given in the present instance, and those which were previously related as connected with the attempts made by the colonial government upon the lands of the missionary institutions of Zuurbrak, Pacaltsdorp, Bethelsdorp, and Theopolis, and to which the reader can look back, I am satisfied that any further illustrations of this subject would be deemed superfluous. The cases here enumerated have been fully detailed, and the original documents have been laid before his Majesty's Commissioners and the Colonial Department at home.

One thing only remains to be noticed here, that is, the apology Lord Charles Somerset offers for the small extent of the land said to have been given to the Hottentots. "It is to be observed," says his Lordship, "that it is the practice of Hottentots, when they are not on service, to repair to one of the Moravian, or other institutions; the applications for land, therefore, by this class are very rare."

In reply to this apology, a few remarks, in this place, will suffice. There is an omission in his Lordship's

statement which should have been supplied. It should have been added, that it is the practice of Hottentots, when they are not in service, to repair to the Moravian or other religious institutions, when they are *permitted* so to do by the local authorities of the district.

In the proclamations of the colonial government, in the official documents of the government at home, and in the statement now under consideration, the Hottentots are, indeed, represented as a free people, free labourers, and British subjects: but it will be seen by the preceding pages, that their real condition is that of the most abject and wretched slavery. The Hottentots not at a missionary station must be in the *service* of the colonists; the law does not allow them to be without contract to a master; and they are entirely at the disposal of the local authorities of the district in which they reside. By this regulation alone, they are virtually disqualified from either acquiring or holding land, on the same principle on which a slave cannot be his own master and a slave at the same time.

CHAPTER XIV.

Official Return of Commandoes against the Bushmen—Compared with Commandant Nel's Confessions.—Humane pretences of the Colonial Government examined.—Letter to Rev. B. Shaw.—Traffic in Bushman Children.—Pretences of the Colonists for continuing this Traffic.—Comparative Humanity of the Dutch and English Governments towards the Bushmen.—Real objects of Bushman Commandoes.

We come now to consider that part of the Parliamentary Return, which relates to the military expeditions against the Bushmen. The following is the official statement furnished by Lord Charles Somerset, in obedience to the orders of his Majesty's government, issued in consequence of the address of the House of Commons, of April 13, 1824, before mentioned.

Note to Table on the opposite page:—

"The registry of slaves throughout the colony is entrusted to a principal officer in Cape Town, assisted by agents in the country districts, in each of which a separate register is kept. These registers, although voluminous, are defective in form, and the removals of slaves have not been, in all instances, duly recorded. No description of the person of the slave is entered in the register, nor has it been customary to require the attendance of the slave at the office when he has been returned by the owner."

Report of His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, &c, &c.
Parliamentary Papers for Session 1826-7, No. 282.

" *Return of all Commandoes or Expeditions against the Bosjesmen which have taken place at the Cape of Good Hope since* 1797; *stating the number of Bosjesmen killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, stating also what had been done with the prisoners.*

District.	Number of Commandoes.	Number of Bosjesmen			Remarks.
		Killed.	Wounded.	Taken Prisoners.	
Stellensbosch	14	45	4	22	The Commandoes that proceeded against the Bosjesmen from this district were ordered out in consequence of the repeated depredations and murders committed by this marauding race of people. To repress this disposition on the part of the Bosjesmen, no other means could be rendered available than that of immediate pursuit and punishment. The expeditions mostly took place during the latter end of the last century, and it has not, therefore, been practicable to ascertain precisely the fate of those taken prisoners: some, however, it appears, escaped; and it is surmised that the remainder were released.
Worcester	18	42	7	None	The same remark is applicable in this instance.
Graaff-Reinet . .	21	97	3	280	According to the practice of the district, the prisoners were distributed among the inhabitants, and put out to service for a stated period. The greatest precaution, however, has been observed in the treatment of these uncivilized beings, and the proclamation, establishing the registry of slaves, will show that no attempts could be successful to include any of this class amongst those unfortunate persons*. The accompanying documents show the anxiety of the colonial government in this regard, and detail the system at present pursued, and the regulations established respecting them. Most of the prisoners taken on these expeditions have returned to their kraals, and the remainder are living with the farmers, on the same terms as their Hottentot servants. In cases where the perpetrators of murders could be discovered, they were tried by the colonial laws, and, if convicted, underwent the punishment their crimes demanded.

[* See Note on opposite page.]

(*Signed,*) " CHARLES HENRY SOMERSET."

" Cape of Good Hope, 16th October, 1824."

The number of commandoes given in this return amount altogether to 53; the number killed to 184; the wounded to 14; and the number taken prisoners to 302. On comparing the number of killed in all the expeditions reported by the colonial government, with the statement of Commandant Nel, recorded in page 42 of this volume, (independent of other authorities there mentioned,) we find in this return 184 stated as the total number killed; whereas, according to Nel, *two hundred* persons are said to have been massacred in one only of the numerous expeditions in which he was engaged.

We shall reserve our further observations on the origin of these commandoes till such time as we come to consider some of the documents attached to this return, which are given to show the anxiety of the colonial government for the welfare of Bushmen, and merely remark upon the assertion that most of those taken were returned to their own kraal. In reply to this statement it is necessary only to say, that the colonists put too high a value upon Bushmen to grant them their liberty after they had been taken;—that the independent kraals, from whence they were taken, and to which they are here said to have returned, no longer exist;—and, that any Bushmen, to be found in the ancient Bushman country, not in slavery, were in a proscribed state at the time this return was made.

"In cases where the perpetrators of murders," says the Return, "could be discovered, they were tried by colonial laws, and, if convicted, underwent the punishment their crimes demanded." Query: What has been the nature of the murders of which these poor creatures have been convicted? Have they been con-

victed and punished capitally for defending themselves and their families against their cruel invaders? It may be further asked, what right have we to seize them in their own country, to bring them into the colony, and try them according to colonial law *?

"The remainder," it is stated, "are living with the farmers, on the same terms as their Hottentot servants."

For the condition of the Hottentot servants, see remarks on the proclamations of Lord Caledon and Sir John Cradock. The condition of the Bushmen among the farmers is wretched beyond description. I found the wandering Bushmen generally in a much better condition than many of those were whom I saw in the service of the farmers.

Lord Charles Somerset, in his remarks annexed to this "return of all commandoes against the Bushmen," seems to think that he has done his duty when he has provided against those people becoming common slaves. It cannot be concealed, however, that the condition of the Bushmen is one of much greater hardship than that of the common slaves. Selfishness will lead a man to feed and save the life of a slave; but little attention will be paid to the life of a Bushman, while, like a wild beast, he can be got for the catching.

The Dutch government, from 1774 to 1795, had a different way of doing those things from what has been adopted by the English; they made a merit of extirpating Bushmen, and we profess to hold their conduct in

* See account of the interview between the clergyman of Graaff-Reinet and a Bushman under sentence of death, as recorded at p. 39 of this volume.

abhorrence, while, under the cover of proclamations full of professions of humanity, we have been equally prosecuting the same system. In 1822, two years before this very statement was made, when the expeditions against the Bushmen were defended on the ground that they were necessary to protect the remote frontier of the colony, a land-surveyor was employed by the colonial government to measure out the Bushman country, and to divide it among the colonists.

The language of the proclamations and other official communications issued by the colonial government furnish a striking contrast to the general line of colonial policy which has been pursued towards that unfortunate race. Nothing can savour more of kindly feelings than the manner in which they are spoken of in those official documents; nothing more inhuman than the actual treatment which they have, at the same time, been receiving. The proclamations of the colonial government, and its official correspondence with the missionaries, breathe a spirit of apparent benevolence, at the very time the work of death and extirpation was proceeding with accelerated steps. One illustration of this shall suffice in this place. In the year 1818, the Rev. B. Shaw, a Wesleyan missionary, applied to the colonial government for permission to establish a mission in the Bushman country. In reply to this application, eighteen months after the bloody order was issued noticed in page 36 of this volume, and at the very time that the commandoes were most active in clearing the Bushman country of its inhabitants, to make room for the colonists, Mr. Shaw had the following reasons assigned to him, in an official letter, dated the 13th January, 1818, by the colonial

government, for its refusal to concede to him his request:—

"Besides, the abuses which have obtained, by the inhabitants of this colony having trespassed on the Bushman country, have rendered the strongest regulations necessary, for preventing them from crossing the Bushman boundary, and in our dry season depasturing the country which is still considered the property of that unfortunate race of people.

"It appears to his Excellency, that it would be highly dangerous to sanction your proposition of establishing another mission at Grass Mount; and, independent of the many reasons which have induced a like determination, with respect to extending missions beyond the frontier in other directions, now not necessary to enter into, his Excellency conceives that his sanctioning such a deviation from the established regulations might lead to the serious injury of the Bushman people."

In the Return, we have an official document, dated 1817, from the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, in which it is admitted that a traffic in Bushmen children was then carried on, on the borders of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

"The cruel, barbarous custom," says this officer, "so prevalent among the Bosjesmen, of murdering, or exposing such of their children as they cannot provide for, or parting with them on any terms whatever, has induced several farmers to procure some of those children, by giving their unnatural parents some trifles for them in exchange, for the purpose of keeping them as servants hereafter, or some from a more humane principle, only to save their lives. This sort of traffic,

already many years in use when I first became aware of it, I, of course, thought dangerous to stop, as long as it remained perfectly understood that the farmer who got the child only considered himself master of it until the parents should claim it, when it was given up without the least hesitation, or any remuneration being demanded, whatever might have been originally given in exchange; but having strong reason to suspect that this ancient custom (as it is called) is beginning to be seriously abused; that these children, got in the above manner, are transferred from one hand to another, and that payment is secretly taken; that many, by these means, are gradually taken from the frontier, brought into the inner districts, and passed off as orphans; that itinerant merchants begin to be supplied with them, through some channel or other; that parents even begin to be disputed their claim to such children; from all which enormities I should think may result, that men might be found, base enough, for the sake of some paltry gain, to give what the Bosjesmen may consider a great deal for such children, in order to supply others, anxious to procure them. This would be a sufficient inducement for one kraal to make an attack upon another, to murder the old ones, and dispose of the children, independent of other excesses, to which men, used to and leading the unpolished life of some of our most remote colonists, may be seduced, by such easy profit."

The origin of this traffic is ascribed by this respectable public functionary to the humanity of the farmers. But without denying the claims of the farmers to hospitality, it is, I fear, but too obvious, from the circumstances in which they were placed, that humanity had

but little share in the origin of this practice. The greater part of the farmers being without slaves, their sole dependence for servants is upon the Bushmen, and other aborigines of the country. When stopping at a farm-house on my late journey into the interior of South Africa, one of the first inquiries was concerning some children, who were with my people, and whether they were to be disposed of. During the same journey, I met several families of colonists, on their way to the Bushman country. An old waggon, a few cooking utensils, a span of bullocks and a few breeding sheep, with two or three old muskets, composed all the stock and furniture with which they were provided for the commencement of their establishment. Looking at the slender provision of those people, it would be difficult to say how they could expect to find subsistence for themselves and their families in the desolate country to which they were travelling. Yet numbers of families, under similar circumstances on their first emigration, have, within these few years, risen to the possession of considerable property. Being asked how they expected to succeed, they stated that the boors in that country were acquiring stock, and with the help of Bushmen, and Bushman children, whom they would be able to get for nothing, they hoped to do as well as others had done.

The cruel and barbarous custom, said in this letter to be so prevalent among the Bushmen, is a charge of too grave a character, and too pregnant with serious consequences not to call for some remarks. If the writer of this letter (whose respectability, and humanity of character I willingly acknowledge) believed the charge that is here made, he must have been

imposed upon by the misrepresentations of those who invented and propagated the calumny, to justify this nefarious traffic. In civilized, or in barbarous states, parents may be found without affection for their offspring, but these instances are exceptions to a general rule, to a law which is as powerful in its operation in the breast of a Bushman, as it is in that of his oppressor. The missionaries have lived among the Bushmen; they have had the best opportunities of observing whether there were any grounds for this charge against them; and they are unprejudiced witnesses; but I never put the question to a missionary who did not rebut the charge as a foul aspersion, and invented for the purpose of covering the atrocities committed upon that people. In my late journey in 1825, going and returning through the Bushman country, I had ample opportunities of conversing with that people, both among the farmers and in a state of nature; and their heaviest complaints were those that were occasioned by the manner in which they were robbed of their children.

In the month of September, 1826, Mr. James Clark, whom I left at Philippolis in 1825, to take charge of the Bushman mission at that place, made a journey among the wild Bushmen to the north-east of the missionary institution, for the purpose of inviting the natives at a distance to come under his instructions, and the following extract from his journal affords a satisfactory illustration of all that I have advanced on this subject:

"*October 28th.*—After morning prayer we observed the first strange Bushman we had seen, lying amongst the long grass at a considerable distance, with his in-

fant child clinging to his arms. We called to him, but he was afraid to come near us; and on our Bushman guide bringing him to us, he trembled much. He said he thought we were come to take Bushman children; but on my giving him a little tobacco, he considered us friends, and immediately set the grass on fire, when his wife and his other children appeared and followed us also."

In no period of equal length, in the history of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, has the work of death and slavery been carried on with the same degree of success which has attended it in the interim between 1817 and 1825. In 1816, we had 1600 people belonging to our Bushman stations of Toverberg and Hephzibah; and the Bushmen, though reduced and harassed by the commandoes which had been sent against them, were still the nominal possessors of the Bushman country south of the Orange river, and were to be seen existing in separate and independent kraals, in different parts of that country. But in 1825, when I visited their country, those kraals had disappeared; the missionary stations had all been put down; the country was then in the possession of the farmers; and the poor Bushmen still residing in it, were either in their service, or living like fugitives among the rocks, afraid to appear by day-light, lest they should be shot at like wild beasts.

Barrow travelled in this country in 1797, and by the following remarkable fact which he relates, we are furnished with a standard, by which we may take a comparative view of the destructive effects of the commandoes against the Bushmen, under the Dutch and the English governments:—

"Twenty years ago," says this writer, "it seems they were less numerous and less ferocious than at the present day; and their boldness, as well as their numbers, is said of late to have very much increased. At one time they were pretty well kept under by the regular expeditions of the peasantry, which were undertaken against them. Each division had its commandant, who was authorised to raise a certain number of men, and these were furnished by government with powder and ball. It was a service at all times taken with reluctance, especially by such as were least exposed to the attacks of the savages; and during the late disturbances at Graaff-Reinet, these expeditions met with considerable interruptions. The people of Bruintjes-hoogte were the first who failed in raising their proportion of men. Zuurveldt was deserted, and Camdeboo and Zwart-Ruggens became negligent and remiss. The people of Sneeuwberg, lying nearest to the common enemy, were left to sustain the whole burden of repelling its attacks; and, had they not conducted themselves with great fortitude, perseverance, and address, that valuable part of the colony, the nursery of cattle, would now have been abandoned. A whole division called the *Tarka*, and a great part of another, the *Sea-Cow River*, and *Rhinoceros-berg*, had been deserted, as well as a small part of Sneeuwberg."

In the year 1774, the commando system began. Previous to that period the Bushmen were in the habit of visiting the colony on friendly terms. The manner in which these commandoes were conducted against the Bushmen under the Dutch government, has been described by Barrow and by Colonel Collins, and many copies of the original documents of those persons,

who had the conducting of them, have been given in these volumes *. Captain Stockenstrom, in his letter of 5th June, 1822, in the printed document containing the returns to parliament, styles the commandoes against the Bushmen "cruel expeditions," and candidly admits, that the colonists were the first aggressors. We here find a discrepancy between his statement, and that of Lord Charles Somerset, who describes these commandoes as ordered out, "in consequence of the repeated depredations and murders committed by this marauding race of people."

In the whole history of Dutch colonization, there is not, perhaps, a single part of that history, which reflects so much discredit upon their national character, as their conduct towards this unfortunate race of people; and, yet it appears from the statement of Mr. Barrow, and the statement is countenanced by the details he gives, that the Bushmen had been increasing in numbers and ferocity for twenty years, previous to the period at which he wrote; that is, during the greater part of the time that the commando system existed under the Dutch government.

After making some allowance for the exaggeration, as to the increase of their numbers, which might be occasioned by the alarm of the colonists, we are justified in asserting that their sufferings, under the Dutch government, did not amount to one-tenth of what they have had to endure under the English government.

Judging from the detestation, in which this country had been accustomed to hold the tyranny of the Dutch towards the aborigines of its colonies; and from the style in which their cruelty to the Bushmen was de-

* See vol. i., from page 41 to 53.

scribed by Barrow and other travellers, it might have been expected, that the transfer of the government into British hands was an event in which humanity had to rejoice. But what is the fact? During the last twenty-two years of the Dutch government at the Cape, the Bushmen were oppressed; yet notwithstanding their oppressions, in 1796 they were still powerful. Since the English took possession of the colony in 1796, what was, in the time of the Dutch government, the Bushman country, has been brought into the possession of the colonists; and the people who were so powerful in 1796, as to threaten the colony, are now reduced to slavery, or to the condition of miserable fugitives in what was then their own country.

Extended as the present frontier of the colony is, it will not stop there. Within the last thirty years the frontier of the colony has been extending in every direction; and, as a proof that the colonists will not be satisfied to confine themselves within the bounds which have been fixed for them, the people of New Hantam had scarcely seated themselves in the Bushman country on the banks of the great Orange river, when they began to cross it to seek new grazing grounds for their cattle, and to kill game (the only provision on which the natives had to depend) beyond it; and there are on the other side of that river, and immediately beyond the eastern and northern limits of the colony, numerous and interesting nations who must shortly share the melancholy fate of the hordes who occupied what was formerly known to us as the Bushman country, unless British humanity, and British justice, throw their protecting shield over them.

In Mr. Stockenstrom's letter, dated 5th June, 1822,

after having stigmatized commandoes against the Bushmen as "cruel expeditions," and fully admitted that the colonists were the first aggressors, he goes on to state, that "the constant depredations of that unfortunate race of people must be occasionally checked by some serious examples, to keep our remote districts at all habitable."

We are agreed in respect to the origin and cruelty of those expeditions, and as to the greater guilt of those who made the first aggressions, on a comparison with that of those who have continued them; but as to the *necessity* of them, there is room for some difference of opinion between us. Whatever might be the ostensible reason of the first expeditions against the Bushmen, the motives will, I believe, be found to be the same in both; and while the late expeditions have not, perhaps, been conducted with less cruelty than the first, they have been much more destructive.

The following description by Barrow, is applicable to these commandoes at every period of their existence:—

"The abominable expeditions which are carried on, under the authority of government, against this miserable race of mortals, ought not, on any consideration, to be tolerated. They answer no other purpose than that of irritating, and rendering more savage, the unhappy creatures who are the objects of them. The boors are chiefly induced to undertake them with the view of securing for their service the women and the children. It is a well-authenticated fact, that in proportion as they are hunted down by the boors, their ferocity towards the Christians has increased."—(Vol. i. p. 247.)

"Forty years ago, as appears from living testimony, the Bosjesmans frequented the colony boldly and openly, begged, and stole, and were troublesome, just as the Caffers now are; but they never attempted the life of any one. They proceeded not to this extremity until the government had unwisely and unjustly suffered the peasantry to exercise an unlimited power over the lives of those who were taken prisoners. It failed at the same time to fix any bounds to the extent of the expeditions made against them, which, if at all allowed, certainly ought not to go beyond the limits of the colony.

"Their inroads would in fact be more effectually checked by charging them boldly, when caught within the colony, than by pursuing and hunting them in their own country. This, however, would not answer the object of the farmer, which is that of procuring children. To attend his numerous flocks and herds, he must have many people; and Hottentots are now so scarce that a sufficient number is not to be had. These, too, must be paid wages; but the poor Bosjesman has nothing but his sheepskin and his meat."—(Vol. i. p. 248.)

In the last extract quoted from Barrow, we have the key to these expeditions; it is there candidly admitted that the object of the farmer in these "abominable expeditions," is that of procuring children, because Hottentots were becoming scarce. Owing to the great increase of the colonial population, which has been doubled since that period, and the abolition of the slave-trade by act of parliament in 1808, by which they have been prevented from getting slaves from Mozambique, Madagascar, &c., Hottentots have become

much more difficult to be obtained than they were at the time when Barrow wrote; and the boors in the Graaff-Reinet, Beaufort, and Somerset districts, and those dwelling in what was the Bushman country, are entirely dependant on the Bushmen for keeping up their present establishments, &c. &c. With the character of the colonists, given by Barrow, and such facts before us, the man who can believe that the farmers have no object before them in taking the Bushmen children but pure humanity, has no need to have the measure of his credulity enlarged

CHAPTER XV.

Knowledge possessed by the Colonial Government of the Traffic in Bushmen Children at the period when the Missions to that people were suppressed. — Letters from Messrs. Read and Smith, on the Suppression of these Missions.—Statement of the Commissioners of Inquiry respecting the Bushmen.—Appeal to the British Public in regard to the cruel Treatment of the Bushman Nation.

Before concluding my remarks on this subject, I must again advert to some facts, presented in this official document, of importance to my argument.

Mr. Stockenstrom admits, in his letter of May, 1817, the existence of this traffic; he says, "It had been many years in use," &c. &c. The letter containing this statement was sent to the colonial office in Cape Town, and must have been perfectly familiar to the heads of the colonial government, as the recommendations it contained were adopted by that government, in the proclamation of the following month, June, 1817; and yet it was on the representations of the farmers, on this very point—it was because the missionaries had resisted their unjust attempts to carry the children of the Bushmen into slavery, that those differences arose betwen them and the farmers, which terminated in the destruction of the missions. It now appears, from the face of an official document, that when the farmers made their representations in 1817, against the missionaries, the true state of the case was perfectly known to the government; and that, at the very time when it was publishing its proclamations with the

avowed purpose of putting an end to this nefarious traffic, it was, by abolishing the missions, removing the only checks by which the continuance of this criminal traffic could be prevented.

Nothing is necessary to strengthen the admission of the landdrost Stockenstrom, in this instance; but, as the missions were put down on the false representations of the farmers, and as it now appears that the government, at the time it listened to those representations, knew them to be false, the following extracts from the correspondence of the missionaries with the government, on this subject, will be more readily received in certain quarters, than they, perhaps, would have been had the colonial government been silent on the subject. By these extracts, it will be seen, that every thing was done by the missionaries, that could be done, to avert the destruction of the missions; and that, notwithstanding their remonstrances, promises, and entreaties, the order for their recall to the colony was absolute and peremptory*.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Read to Henry Alexander, Esq., Colonial Secretary, respecting the suppression of the two Missionary Institutions, among the Bushmen, by Lord Charles Somerset.

"*Lattakoo*, 15*th July*, 1818.

"Sir,

"With extreme concern I received a communication from Mr. Corner a few days ago, from which it appeared, that it had pleased His Excellency the

* It was after the recall of Smith and Corner, that the farmers were permitted to take possession of those missionary stations, and that a land-surveyor, Captain Bonamy of the 6th regiment, was sent into that country to measure it out to the farmers.

Governor to call him away from the Bushmen settled near the Cradock River, and where his usefulness was promising among those wild savages to a great degree. Mr. Corner forwarded to me, at the same time, copies of Mr. Stockentrom's letter to government, respecting Mr. Smith's request to establish a mission at the Groote Fonteyn, within the boundary of the colony, with his remarks on the same, &c.; likewise his Excellency's answer to it; and a letter from Mr. Stockenstrom to Mr. Corner, stating the reasons of his Excellency's ordering him to relinquish his labours among that people. I hope I shall not displease his Excellency by taking up the subject, and stating my knowledge of different circumstances connected therewith, and offering some remarks, which I think it my duty to do, for the sake of the poor people in question.

"On my journey into the interior with Mr. Campbell in 1813, and on passing the limits of the colony to this place last year, I perceived a misunderstanding between the Bosjesmen beyond the colony and the farmers. Some of the former are constantly going into the service of the farmers, or giving them their children. They have no idea of the laws made for Hottentots, but think themselves at liberty to return to their kraals at their pleasure, and to take their children back when they please. I met with several Bushmen, who not being able to get their liberty had run away.

"Another source of misunderstanding, is the bartering Bushmen children for sheep and goats. A boor came to Mr. Smith's place, while I was there, to claim a girl, for whom he told me he had given eight young sheep; on which account he considered her to be his property, and that at his death he could leave her to whom

he pleased. These things, I fear, have been, and still are, sources of much evil. The parents of the above girl were of the wild Bushmen, beyond the colony; and the mother, waiting for her daughter, declared she had never received any sheep from the boor. From these misunderstandings, several unpleasant circumstances have taken place at Mr. Smith's settlement.—A missionary would, perhaps, (being generally better acquainted with the cases, from more information than any others have,) be better able to adjust such disputes, according to the existing laws of the colony, and save the landdrosts, field cornets, &c., much trouble, and hinder much evil.

"I have now most humbly to plead with his Excellency in behalf of the poor Bushmen of Hephzibah, where Mr. Corner and his assistant had provisionally settled. Their short residence there had had a most wonderful effect: the Bushmen had begun to give every kind of assistance in tilling the ground, herding the cattle, &c.; and shewed the greatest readiness to lay aside their savage life, and become useful members of religious and civil society.—Mr. Corner was at considerable trouble and expense in leading out the water, tilling the ground, &c. The road through the country of the wild Bushmen, so much dreaded by travellers, had become so safe, that a single waggon had more than once passed from Griqua Town to the colony without any molestation."

The following is an extract of a letter from the same individual, to Mr. Stockenstrom, landdrost of Graaff-Reinet:—

"You, Sir, will not be offended at my saying, that I think your fears with respect to the missions among

the Bushmen are ungrounded.—Such undertakings among the Heathen in South Africa are no new things; there are now no less than fifteen establishments in and beyond the colony; and at no one place has there been a necessity of contribution from the boors, to support the people, and very few instances of those joining the above stations coming to the necessity of stealing, or of returning to their former wandering way of living."

An order was issued on the 27th of January, 1818, commanding Mr. Smith to come into the colony, to which Mr. Smith made the following reply to the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet :—

"*Genadenberg, February* 3*rd*, 1818.

"Sir,

"I received your letter of the 27th of January, and also the translation of the 9th—at the contents of which I was very sorry. Still I pray you, that this institution may not be suffered to be entirely destroyed, because there has been so much trouble and anxiety suffered from this uncultivated people. It has cost much trouble both in religious and temporal things, besides very great expense to the London Missionary Society. I pray you let not all this be in vain, and let not the people return to their former ignorance. Let me appear the least of all in your sight, and let me fall down before you for this important cause. May the good providence of God have such an effect on your mind, that through your means another plan may be formed by his Excellency. What will be the consequence of all this? If I have transgressed, forgive me—if not for my own sake, still for the sake of the good cause; and

let not a whole nation groan and labour under a yoke on my account.

"You once proposed a plan to me when at Graaff-Reinet, how we should act respecting the unavoidable and increasing evil of Bushmen running away from the colony to this institution. Try the plan first, and if it does not succeed, there will remain no alternative but to give up the institution altogether. I am willing to do every thing that lies within the reach of my poor abilities for the general welfare.

"In order that you may fully understand my meaning in this pressing request, permit me to lay the following remarks before you :—

"1st. If the institution could be brought, or reckoned within the limits of the colony, then no one could join the institution without your consent, and by that means I may be freed from the very unpleasant things I have met with hitherto. Government will then always have the power to fix the number of inhabitants, suppose it were for example only ten or fifteen families, as in the case of the bastard Hottentots; we promising at the same time, that neither I, nor any of my fellow-labourers, nor any one who may succeed in this institution, shall receive a single Bushman or Hottentot, without his showing a passport from you; and both myself and all other missionaries promising submission to that government, under whose jurisdiction this institution may be placed, and that all the run-away Bushmen shall be sent back.

"I pray you for those who have no helper, for they are now in most distressing circumstances; and I pray also that they may be freed from corporal punishment.

"2ndly. If the above cannot be agreed to, perhaps

my former request of being established at the Groote Fonteyn may be allowed, or at any other place which you may judge most proper; while I have reason to hope that the Bushmen, who are here at present, will follow me, at least those who are baptized, with their children, and also the bastard Hottentots, which include altogether about fifty persons.

"3dly. If the above also cannot be allowed, please to send me an express regulation, by which I may be enabled, if any run-away Bushmen come here in future, to send a message either to yourself or some other person, whom you may please to appoint, that they may be restored to their masters again: for I am now willing to undertake the trouble in order to spare the institution from becoming a wilderness again, and the Bushmen belonging to it from returning to their former state of ignorance and barbarism, and that the wishes of a prejudiced and mocking multitude may not be gratified. Be assured, Sir, that nothing of that nature shall be tolerated here in future.

"4thly. Respecting his Excellency's kind offers, and the privileges which he promises, and respecting your kind offer to assist me in that excellent plan, proposed by several well-meaning Christians in the village and district of Graaff-Reinet, (I can make it known in a confidential way,) if I was called by the directors, I should have no objection to settle there, in case one or two missionaries could be found to whose care I could intrust this small congregation; or, if I could leave it under the care of one or two of the members who serve as deacons, and in whom I can trust, as I often have done, when I have undertaken journeys. Besides, I could visit them now and then in my journeys through

these parts, and by that means take care of their welfare until such time as I should receive answers from the directors in Europe, and that they should send authorized missionaries to fill my station. By these means, the old work might be held a-going, and the new work, which is certainly as necessary, could proceed also (supposing I was regularly called to undertake it). This plan appears to me to be a very excellent one, both for the heathen population, and for the country in general; because the missionary would find a much wider field to exercise his talents, by thus itinerating, than by being constantly at one place. Still a missionary must be careful that his former labours are not suffered to be in vain, and this is the case with me at present; and, if I was to transgress the Lord's commandment in this respect, I might go sorrowing all my days; consequently, I pray you once more, (but do it not on my own account, but for the good cause, which has already so many roots in the ground,) if it is possible to call *one step* back again, that it may not return to its former dry and desolate condition: let this my request not be in vain. Hoping your kindness will be shewn towards me,

"I am, &c.

(Signed) "E. SMITH."

An official communication, dated the 17th of March, 1818, left Mr. Smith no alternative but to disobey the orders of government or leave his station. The particular circumstances of his removal, and the sequel, have been already related in the statement previously given of the breaking up of the Bushman missions.

In corroboration of the important fact, given in a

former part of this work, that the Bushman country is now in possession of the colonists, I am happy to avail myself of the testimony of His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry :—

"Lastly, it will be an important duty devolving on the Surveyor-General, with the assistance of his deputy in the eastern province, to cause a survey to be made of the boundary of the colony, and to define the limits with an accuracy that has not been hitherto observed, to ascertain the situation in which lands may be advantageously reserved for the settlement of the Bosjesmen*,

* There were but two unoccupied places in this country when I travelled in it in 1825. For one of these places there had been then nearly fifty applications from colonists ; and the other, which was the original Bushman missionary station at Toverberg, has, as I have heard since my arrival in England, been granted to the Boors for the purpose of erecting a colonial church upon it. The whole Bushman country has been measured out to the colonists ; and, in a country already appropriated, a surveyor is to be employed to search for unappropriated places, to indemnify the Bushmen for the loss of their country. That it is the duty of the British government, and in its power, to make some reparation to the remaining Bushmen, will be readily admitted ; but the manner in which compensation is proposed, in the present instance, sounds more like something to soothe the wounded feelings of the outraged humanity of the British public, than like any thing designed to afford real relief to the remaining Bushmen.

The Boors in the Bushman country have no slaves; and the extensive territory they have lately acquired would be of little use to them unless they can retain the original occupiers of the soil in their service. I can state, on my own personal knowledge, that the abolition of the missions, and the destruction of the Bushmen which followed that event, has been and is matter of grief to many of the Boors of the Graaff-Reinet district; but the dominant party, to whose wishes the Bushmen have been sacrificed, and who are now in possession of the people and their country, will never, of their own accord, favour any scheme which would make the people independent

whose country has been comprised within the extended boundary line that has been recently drawn, and has included about forty-eight thousand square miles of infertile country*."

The Commissioners, in their Report upon the Government of the Colony, page 23, represent the local authorities of the remote districts of the colony as sympathizing too much with the Boors to preserve an impartial line of conduct between them and the natives, who enter into their service†, or in framing their reports of occurrences to the landdrosts. They add, also, in speaking of those magistrates—"They likewise yield to, instead of opposing, the eagerness of the Boors to engage in commandoes against the Bushmen, and afford no restraint upon the ferocity with which, we regret to say, these expeditions (though less frequent than formerly) are still conducted."

It is admitted, in the above extract, that the local authorities of the frontier districts "afford no restraint upon the ferocity with which these expeditions are still conducted," while an attempt is made to qualify the statement, by the remark that they are "less frequent than formerly." After receiving the information, con-

of them, or even prove a check upon the uncontrolled power they exercise over them. Unless the recent and present sufferings of the Bushmen awaken the humanity of England, like the poor Hottentots, the rising generation may one day see a tabular view like that exhibited in the preceding chapter, showing that half a dozen of them have got a morgen (two acres of land) for every thousand square miles of which their nation has been robbed.

* See Parliamentary Papers, No. 282, page 80.

† "Who enter," &c. &c. This expression does not convey to the reader the real state of the case. The Bushmen do not *enter*, but are forced into, the service of the colonists in this district.

tained in the preceding extract from the Report, that the Bushmen's country, comprehending 48,000 square miles, is now in the possession of the colonists, without taking much credit to ourselves for any great improvement in our humanity, we may allow that commandoes against the poor Bushmen are less frequent than formerly. The people who were so powerful, a few years ago only, as to require strong commandoes to face them when injuries were meditated against them, now see their enemies in full possession of their country, while they tremble at the sight of a single colonist. At the very time at which the Commissioners wrote the paragraph we have quoted from the Report, the Bushmen country had been measured out; and the colonists and the commandoes must have pretty nearly done their work in that country before the land-surveyor could follow his peaceful occupation in it.

Here we have a series of facts, on the authority of the Commissioners of Inquiry, which confirm all my previous statements in relation to the Bushmen, and which lay open to us one of the bloodiest tragedies, acted under the British government, and within the last few years too, that ever disgraced any European nation. Our Bushmen missions were put down in 1818; and, since that period, the country has been cleared of the natives as if they had been wild beasts. Nothing is required to add colouring to the picture; there is nothing left unexplained, when we are informed that the Bushmen's country, comprehending 48,000 square miles, is now in the quiet possession of the colonists.

I feel for the cause of humanity—I feel for the honour of my country! Can Englishmen any longer declaim against Dutch inhumanity? Can we any longer hold

up the Spaniards to execration for their conduct to the nations of South America?

Independent of the scene which is now passing under our eyes in this fearful drama, one stands appalled at the bare apprehension of the consequences to which such a system, if persisted in, must ultimately lead. What hope can we entertain of saving the oppressed population of our foreign possessions; of checking the abuses of uncontrolled power; of curbing the cupidity of an insatiable avarice; or even of saving England, if such proceedings are to be covered and protected by the colonial government at home? Let us not suppose, because the Bushmen country, measuring 48,000 square miles, is now in the possession of the farmers, that the work of death and devastation in South Africa is now done. With respect to the Bushmen, we have now to think of what is to be done with the prisoners; but there are countries beyond our extended frontier, which must shortly share the same fate, if effectual checks are not imposed on those destructive passions to which the Bushmen have been sacrificed. Scarcely had the colonists, now inhabiting the Bushmen country, seated themselves on their remote frontier, when the Bergenaars were at work on the other side of the Orange river, and an active trade was opened between those plunderers and the colony. The poor Bechuana tribes, who lived in peace while the Bushmen were between them and the colonists, were now plundered, and captured, and found in the colony. Since the English took possession of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, we have deprived the Caffers of the finest parts of their country; we have, according to the testimony of the Commissioners of Inquiry, added to it 48,000 square miles of Bushman

country. And we shall proceed, if the present system is continued, till, having treated all the Caffer tribes as some of them have been treated, and as the Bushmen have been dealt with, we come to fix the boundary of the colony at Delagoa Bay, and then we shall order out our commandoes against the inhabitants of Mosambique*.

And can men who believe in the existence of a God, or who have enough of human sagacity to perceive the connexion between national crime and national degradation, flatter themselves that such a system can be connived at in our foreign dependencies by the government at home, with perfect impunity? "The judgments of God," says Milton, "are for ever unchangeable, neither is he wearied by the long process of time, and won to give his blessing on one age to that which he hath cursed in another." Independent of any supernatural interference of Deity, perseverance in such a system has an obvious tendency to desecrate every efficient vestige of national virtue still remaining among us, and must in the end give rise to a reaction, subversive of national honour, of national independence, and of civil liberty.

I shall now take my leave of the gentlemen under whose auspices this system of devastation has been carried on in South Africa, and of those who may have the hardihood to become its apologists, by recommending to their serious consideration the sentiments contained in the following extract of a letter, addressed by

* Having, on one occasion, asked a colonist if he could point out to me the northern boundary of the colony, he made the following reply:—"We colonists are not nice in these matters: all is colony to us where we can find a good spring of water, and pasturage for our cattle."

Granville Sharpe, Esq., to the Right Honourable the Earl of Dartmouth, his Majesty's Secretary of State.

The letter in question is dated 10th October, 1772, and was occasioned by its becoming known that it was the intention of the British government to employ some regiments of British troops against the Caribbs of the Island of St. Vincent. The sentiments which at that period produced a change in the determination of the government may, if the parties concerned have any belief in a future state, and in the responsibility of man to his Maker, produce contrition for the unmerited fate of the Bushmen, and perhaps save the interesting remnant of that nation, and many of the tribes of Africa, who, like the Bushmen, must perish miserably, if the progress of destruction be not speedily arrested.

"For God's sake, my Lord, if you are really the *conscientious man* that I believe you to be, inquire strictly and carefully into this matter, as it is now in your proper department; and if you find there are just grounds for what I have advanced, I think I may rest assured that you will use your utmost endeavours to stop all further proceedings against the Indians, that the *credit of our nation* may not openly be stained by the horrid crimes of *unjust oppression*, robbery, and premeditated murder; and that such complicated guilt may not occasion the withdrawing of God's blessing from the king's family and this kingdom. I have already mentioned the great uncertainty of success in the present undertaking against the Caribbees; but let me add, that even a victory in so bad a cause will load the English government with indelible shame and dishonour. The credit of our ministers must sink to the

hateful level of politicians, whose principles are baneful to human society, and must necessarily, therefore, be detestable before God and man. The blood that will probably be spilt on both sides, must *somewhere be imputed*; for *open and avowed injustice* and wilful murder cannot be vindicated before God by any deceitful sophistry about the necessity of such measures to produce the nation's good, or to maintain the prosperity of our colonies; because good and evil can never change places, and because *we must 'not do evil that good may come.'*

"These are the *first* and most *fundamental principles of government*; so that statesmen and politicians, who thus venture to dispense with them, ought to be reminded, that such measures not only accumulate a national, but a *personal* guilt, which they must one day *personally* answer for, when they shall be compelled to attend, with common robbers and murderers, expecting an eternal doom; for the nature of their crimes is essentially the same, and God is no respecter of persons."

CHAPTER XVI.

Examination of the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry respecting the Bechuana Refugees.—Disorders occasioned by the Bergenaars, fomented by the Frontier Colonists.—Mr. Melvill's Journey to Cape Town, and Correspondence on the subject with the Colonial Government.—Conduct of the Colonial Government on this Occasion.—Remarks of the Commissioners of Inquiry on the "unauthorized" Occupation of the Bushman Country by the Colonists.—Situation of the Bastaard Population on the Northern Frontier.—Connivance of the Government in the Encroachments of the Boors.—Means suggested by the Commissioners for the Improvement of the Coloured Population.

In the preceding chapters of this work, I have given many illustrations of the injuries inflicted upon the native tribes of South Africa, and I must add a few more to the catalogue before closing the present volume. In my remarks on the return to the Honourable the House of Commons on Mr. Buxton's motion, I had occasion to advert to the Reports of his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, in support of my statement; and in pursuance of my present object, I shall, in this and in the following chapters, take the liberty of referring to the same authority. It has afforded me particular pleasure to have had the opportunity of referring so frequently as I have done to the statements and opinions of the Commissioners with approbation. In documents like their Reports, however, embracing such a vast variety of detail, it would be unreasonable to expect accurate information on every point; and if I

shall have occasion, in future, to correct any inadvertency into which they may have fallen, in their statements, I shall feel that I am injured, if it is construed into disrespect to them, or if it is ascribed to any other motive than that which arises from the interest I take in the cause of suffering humanity.

His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry did not visit the northern frontier of the colony, or the tribes beyond it; and it cannot be disrespectful to them to say that, in the following passage in their Reports, they must have received their information from ignorant or interested observers:

"The pursuits of the people to whom the occupation of tracts, under the name of "Request Places," has been granted by the magistrate of the district, and which are yet unconfirmed and unsurveyed, consist altogether, of grazing sheep and cattle during certain parts of the year, and keeping up an illicit trade in fire-arms and gunpowder, with the Griquas and Bechuana tribes, who, under the guidance of elective chiefs, and assemblies of the most popular form and structure, are endeavouring to establish an ascendancy over their remoter brethren; and at the same time, to maintain a war of extermination against the unfortunate Bushmen, who have no property to lose. To these ravages have been attributed the deplorable state of distress, to which many of these tribes have been reduced, and which have led numbers to seek refuge and subsistence in the colony, where they have been apprenticed to those colonists who are not slave-owners."

The Bechuanas, who have had any intercourse with the colony, have never, in one instance, by the means furnished by an illicit traffic, or by any other means,

attempted to establish an ascendancy over the native tribes here described; and while they, themselves, have been sufferers by the disturbances to which allusion is made, they had no share in the transactions by which so many of their countrymen have been ruined The real cause of the distress of the Bechuanas, who are here described as having come into the colony seeking refuge, and likewise the manner in which they were brought into the colony, have been related in a former chapter in this volume, and the statements then made, were furnished me by the Bergenaars themselves, and are corroborated by an official document of Mr. Melvill's, transmitted to the colonial office in Cape Town, while the Commissioners of Inquiry were upon the spot. What we have stated in defence of the Bechuanas is equally applicable to the Griqua tribes, down to the period at which Mr. Melvill was settled among them as the agent of government. The Griqua chiefs, so far from having contributed, in any measure, to bring upon the Bechuanas the distress described by the Commissioners, brought all the distress upon themselves and upon their people which they have since suffered, by their attempts to put a stop to the plundering expeditions of the Bergenaars and the nefarious traffic carried on between them and the colonists. After having warned the Bergenaars against continuing the plundering expeditions, and finding that these warnings had no effect, they attacked them, took several thousand head of cattle from them, rescuing, at the same time, the captives they had in their hands, to whom they gave the cattle which they claimed; and this was done under the direction of the government agent, in the hope that the colonial government would approve of the

measure, and encourage the chiefs in their attempts to protect the Bechuana tribes, and preserve the peace of the frontier. The Bergenaars, by the profitable traffic they were carrying on with the colony, had, by this time, become powerful, and a retaliation was threatened. Mr. Melvill and the Griqua chiefs, finding that they had now brought themselves into a perilous situation, proposed to renew their application to the colonial government for encouragement and assistance. With this view, Mr. Melvill and Waterboer, the chief of Griqua Town, visited Cape Town, and Mr. Melvill was very much astonished, on his admission to the colonial office, to find there a Captain Bonamy, who had been employed as a land-surveyor in the Bushman country, and who, it appeared, had travelled to Cape Town to defend the conduct of the Bergenaars. It is impossible to look at this circumstance and not ask how the colonists should have shown so much zeal in supporting this banditti? The special pleadings of this gentleman were very soon silenced by the facts and witnesses Mr. Melvill had to produce.

At the close of this interview, which took place on the 25th November, 1824, Mr. Melvill was required to furnish the governor with a written statement, in reference to the subject under discussion. In compliance with this request, he drew up a document which is dated 17th December, and was delivered into the colonial government on the same day. From this official paper, we made some extracts, which will be found at page 82 of the present volume, and we shall avail ourselves of a few more extracts from the same article, which will be found sufficient for my present purpose. They must satisfy every unprejudiced reader, that the disorders on

the frontier of the colony, adverted to by the Commissioners, did not originate in the ambition of the Griqua chiefs.

"The difficulty of introducing regulations among a people rising into civilization is, I believe, universally acknowledged. These difficulties were felt when attempting to introduce the regulations approved by government among the Griquas; one of the difficulties is, that all the family connections of an offender join in protecting him from punishment; and owing to this, the chiefs no sooner attempted to punish an individual for a crime, than he fled to the Bergenaars and found protection, and very frequently his connections went away with him. While the Bergenaars were thus encouraging these deserters, they strengthened themselves to resist all law and authority. I know of instances of criminals who have been immediately pardoned, to prevent them and their family connections from running over to the Bergenaars.

"In reference to the danger or advantage likely to arise from abandoning or supporting the people under the chiefs, I think it my duty to make a few observations. The Griquas are now divided; the most respectable part have expected support, and expressed their attachment to the colonial government. This party, with their chief, are still willing to remain connected with the colony, and to enforce the laws and regulations approved of by government. The other party, taking offence at various causes already mentioned, began to show their disaffection at an early period, and left Griqua Town, and the other places, to reside in the mountains: since that time, numbers have joined them, and their party is every day strengthening. They reside within a few

hours' ride of the colony, have constant intercourse with the colonists, and are carrying on depredations among the native tribes—by which thousands of these wretched people are compelled to wander about in quest of subsistence; and, more desperate than the wildest Bushmen, are under the necessity of plundering others or of perishing of hunger. Under these circumstances, can there be any doubt which of these parties it is the interest of the colony to support? By assisting the Griqua chiefs and their adherents, the colonial government will afford encouragement to a people living under good regulations, preserve the peace of the frontier, maintain a good understanding with all the Bechuana tribes beyond the Orange river, who look to the Griqua chiefs as their friends and benefactors, and promote civilization, and all its fruits. By supporting the Bergenaars, the Griqua chiefs will become discouraged, and be in danger of being irritated; while the Bergenaars, who are the secret enemies of the colony, will acquire strength by every new expedition; and, by the accession of all disorderly characters and deserters from the colony, they will spread terror and desolation all around, and will preclude the possibility of penetrating into the interior. This state of things could not be suffered to continue: it must ultimately call for the interference of government, and a commando will not then easily remove the evil.

"I do not state these things from any prejudice against the Bergenaars as individuals, but from a sense of duty, to point out the danger to which the frontier may in future be exposed, and the means of avoiding it, by the adoption of suitable measures at the present important crisis. As to the dependence or independence of the Griquas, I beg leave to say, that the relation that

is to subsist between them and the colony should be well considered and well understood on both sides.—Waterboer and the other chiefs wish to be connected with the colonial government, and will object to nothing that is reasonable. After what has been said of these chiefs, it surely cannot be necessary to recommend them to the protection and liberality of the government. They devote their time and their talents, and keep themselves poor, to promote good order among the people, and keep up their attachment to the colony. The very enemies of Waterboer have but two complaints against him; and those proceed from his love of order, and his zeal to keep and support a good understanding between the people and the colonial government. Those who have left Griqua Town, and cry out against him, when speaking to the landdrost, or others about him, blame him for his severity; but the greatest part of their hatred, I am convinced, arises from his wish to keep on good terms with the colony.

"I would beg to suggest, that the landdrosts of the frontier districts be instructed to give the government agent prompt support in cases of emergency. The mere circumstance of this being known would have all the desired effect, and deter their enemies from attacking them. And it would be advisable, in the present difficulty, for the landdrost to acquaint the Bergenaars, and others connected with them, with the intentions of government on this subject; and that no privileges whatever should be granted but through the recommendations of the chiefs, and when approved of by the government agent."

It is not my intention to offer an apology for the measures of Mr. Melvill at Griqua Town, or to defend

the attack, which has been already noticed, of the chief, Waterboer, upon the Bergenaars; but the appointment and influence of Mr. Melvill had given rise to the measures in question; and we must not forget that Mr. Melvill was, at that time, the accredited agent of the colonial government. When there was no political agent among the Griquas, the chiefs looked up to the missionaries, who, of course, were always advocates for peace; and, whatever parties might divide the Griquas, the missionaries were looked upon as friends by all; but, after the appointment of a government agent, the chiefs looked up to the agent of government for direction, and the peaceable advice of the missionaries had now no longer any weight.

The authority of the missionaries being superseded by the appointment of a political agent to that station, the colonial government, from that moment, became responsible for the effects which might follow. If the colonial government was not called upon to sanction the proceedings of Mr. Melvill, nor of Waterboer, who acted under his influence, it might have retraced its steps, and have recalled its agent or appointed another; but I am far from satisfied with the view the government took of this subject after the division took place, which was the result of Mr. Melvill's appointment. When Mr. Melvill informed the colonial government of what had become notorious over the whole colony, that the Bergenaars had been greatly strengthened since their secession from Griqua Town; that they were collecting to themselves all the outlaws and runaways from the colony; that they were attacking the defenceless tribes of the Bechuanas, and robbing them of their young people and cattle; that they had opened a contraband

trade with the colonists, which was carried on with great activity; and that they were threatening the destruction of Griqua Town;—it was not then for the government to say, this is an affair between the people themselves, we cannot interfere. The interference of the government, in the appointment of Mr. Melvill, made it a duty to interfere in this case. The first interference had kindled a fire which it was the duty of the colonial government to assist in extinguishing. Independent of this consideration, the very notice of the trade carried on by the Bergenaars with the colonists called for its immediate attention; and, had it been promptly suppressed by the colonial government, a thousand evils would have been prevented which now threaten the missionaries on the boundaries of the colony, and have given rise to disorders which had been kept under by the missionaries for fifteen years previous to this period.

The circumstances under which the boundary line of the colony has been extended, and is still extending, are as alien to the interests of the colony as they are injurious to the natives. While the spirit of encroachment, which has swallowed up so many thousand miles of the Hottentot and Bushman country, and brought so many calamities upon the unoffending natives, has been the means of greatly increasing the expenses of the colonial government, it has greatly deteriorated the character of the parties concerned, and must still put the government to great additional expense, or induce them to connive at the continuance of those disorders which are so disgraceful to a civilized country. The habits which have been formed in the boors by their numerous expeditions against the Bushmen, the property which has been acquired by many of those who have been

engaged in this system of robbery, joined to the remoteness of their situation from the seats of magistracy, which has broken them off as so many insulated fragments from the civilized influence of society, will now make it difficult for the colonial government to confine, within those limits which the finances of the colony render necessary, the restless spirits which have been indulged in carrying on the war of extermination they have waged against the natives till they have forgotten that the sufferers are men, or that they have civil rights. Like those tribes with whom war is regarded as their chief and favourite occupation, unless they are engaged in plundering expeditions, they will feel as if they were without their natural aliment. Difficult as it may be to impose salutary checks under such circumstances, it is not impossible; and government must do it speedily, and with a firm hand, or the disease will increase, till every other method of cure must give place to desperate remedies. Let us hear what his Majesty's Commissioners say on this subject.

"There are, however, some other circumstances, arising from the local situation of the district of Worcester, to which we feel it our duty to call your Lordship's attention in this place. A considerable portion of the northern and eastern part of this district, denominated the Bokkeveld and the Nieuwveld, are situated at a distance of three or four days' journey from Tulbagh. They have been gradually, and, as it were, imperceptibly occupied, for uncertain periods of the year, by people who derive their support from grazing large herds of cattle upon the stunted herbage and shrubs of the plains, in which the supply of moisture, either from rain or from springs, is so uncertain, that they are perpetually seeking for it

in new tracts, or disputing with each other, or with the native tribes, about the access to accidental deposits; and, in the winter season, are compelled to resort to the plains of the Karroo, situated on the southern side of the mountainous ridges; as well as to avoid the cold temperature, which is sufficiently severe to injure their flocks and herds, and to suspend vegetation. The progressive occupation of these tracts has induced the formation of a new frontier line, within which, we believe, it is intended to include a considerable portion of those that are situated on the Sack river, and which have, until the last eight or ten years, been the occasional resort of that unfortunate race of men called 'Boschmen,' and a small number of a mixed race called 'Bastaards.'

"Without anticipating what we have to detail upon this subject, we beg leave here to state, that unauthorized attempts are still made by the inhabitants of this remote district to possess themselves of any portions of land that they find necessary for the support of their flocks; and by which we fear that tracts which are very unproductive have been added to the colonial territory, and are incapable of defraying the expenses of its administration."

In the above extracts from the Reports, &c., we have another illustration, in addition to the many already given, of the destructive rage with which the commando system has been carried on against the Bushmen since the abolition of our missions among that people. And the manner in which they speak of the progressive occupation of this country and of the Bushmen, designating them an "unfortunate race of men," convey a reflection upon the whole system,

honourable to their humanity, which increases our regret that their details (here referred to) on these subjects should be longer withheld from the public.

The opinion I have already stated from my own knowledge of the habits of the colonists, and from numerous facts which have come under my observation, that there is no prospect, on the *present* system, of preventing the boors from spreading themselves over a still wider extent of the country than that which they at present occupy to the ruin of the native tribes beyond them, receives additional confirmation from the extracts we have here quoted. Notwithstanding the extensive territory which, on the showing of the Commissioners, has been lately measured out to them, they add,—"We beg leave here to state that unauthorized attempts are still made by the inhabitants of this remote district, to possess themselves of any portions of land that they find necessary for the support of their flocks," &c.

When I see so much to approve as I do in the extracts on which I am commenting, I am sorry to be obliged to notice any thing which forces me to find fault; but I should not be doing justice to my subject if I allowed the word "*unauthorized,*" used in this sentence, to pass without a remark.

Why should the Commissioners have said that the attempts which are still making by the boors in this district, to possess themselves of the land still left to the natives, or unoccupied, are *unauthorized?* Can attempts of this nature, made under the eye of the magistrates of the district, and with their concurrence, be said with any propriety to be unauthorized? In my last journey through part of this country in 1825, I met with a

number of respectable families of the description of people called Bastaards, in the very circumstances the Commissioners have described. I found them very decently clothed, and in possession of cattle, and waggons, and other property, and they had a sufficient number of trained oxen to assist me in my journey till I reached the first farm-houses on the road possessed by the colonists. A party of these people, consisting of eight or ten young men, having heard that I was in the country, met me at a place occupied by one of the same people, to consult with me respecting their situation. At the very time that they were in conversation with me, they pointed out to me a large herd of cattle belonging to a field-cornet, grazing the pasture from which their own cattle had been driven; and they had all received orders to quit that part of the country. The situation of these people was particularly trying: from their infancy they had lived in peace among themselves; they had a good character from the farmers nearest to them;—they had never had a missionary among them, but they had a person who had been bred at a missionary station, who acted as a schoolmaster to their families, and they could read and write. The natives of Britain could not have felt more at being ejected from the land of their fathers and driven into exile than these people appeared to feel on this occasion; and what added to their perplexity was this, that, owing to the occupation of the other parts of the country by the boors, they appeared to have no alternative left them but to fall into a state of bondage, or to go with their cattle to the other side of the Orange river, where they would be liable to all the uncertainties to which life and property are at present exposed in that region by the plundering

expeditions of the Bergenaars. The attempts of the farmers in that case were well known to the local authorities of the district of Beaufort. At this very time I spoke to some of them on the subject, but they had no idea that people of colour had any right to springs of water in the country if they were needed, by the colonists. If these terms were used by the Commissioners as a screen to the colonial government, I may appeal to an admission of their own, in the very sentence on which I have been remarking, for the correctness of the preceding strictures. If the fact was known to them that the farmers were, at this time, making such attempts, it could not be unknown to the colonial government; and a single line from the colonial office to the landdrost of Beaufort would have instantly recalled the field-cornets to their duty, and have afforded the natives all the protection they required, to secure to them the peaceable possession of their farms. It was in the same "unauthorized" manner that the farmers of the Bokkeveld and the Nieuwveld proceeded progressively to the occupation of the Bushman country; but the colonial government knew all the time the progress they were making; and when they had cleared the country of its inhabitants, the same government confirmed to them their usurpation, and by the formation of a new frontier line, excluded the former occupants from any portion of land among the new possessors. The knowledge of a disease is essential to its cure, and I have no hope of any thing being done to check this murderous system, so long as it is believed in England that all the evils with which it is accompanied have their origin in the *unauthorized* aggressions of the farmers.

Considering the present oppressed state of the natives of South Africa; the manner in which the attention of his Majesty's Commissioners was directed to this subject, previous to their embarkation for the Cape of Good Hope; the numerous documents put into their hands on their arrival, on that subject; the time which their investigations on this point occupied them; and the insulated passages in their published reports on the government and the finances of the colony which we have quoted, and on which we have made our comments,—our readers will expect, before closing this volume, to hear whether they have recommended any plans for ameliorating the condition of the natives, and what they are; and we shall endeavour to satisfy them on the subject as far as we have it in our power. We have already apologised for the Commissioners for having said so little on the state of the natives, by remarking that their reports on *that* subject have not yet been published, and that those statements, which we have in the reports before us, appear to have been introduced in an incidental way only, from their connection with other subjects; and it is necessary to keep this circumstance in view to account for their having said so very little on this important branch of their inquiries. All that they have said on this subject is contained within twenty lines of their report; but we shall not find fault with them for this deficiency, as their official communications on this head have not been published, and because what they have said meets with our approbation. It may be proper, however, to premise, that we are much better pleased with what we are left to infer from their recommendations than with any thing in them of a specific nature. Having stated the provision they recommend to be made for the colonial

clergy, and for the building of churches, &c., they give us their views respecting the means to be adopted for the improvement of the coloured population, in the following terms:—"With a view to extend the benefits of this provision to the coloured inhabitants of the colony in general, we recommend that, in all instances in which applications may be made by any number of families of Hottentots, Bosjesmen, or Malays, or of any other class of coloured people settled within the colony, or on application being made by clergymen or missionaries on their behalf, for assistance to be afforded to them in acquiring the means of instruction and religious communion, a reserve should be made of land in the parish in which they propose to settle or reside, and a distinct allotment should be attached as glebe, for the support of a clergyman or teacher; that a proportionate salary be assigned to such person, and that five hundred pounds be appropriated from the revenues of the colony for the erection of a plain church and school, to which they might contribute whatever it may be within their own power to afford, in aid of the establishment."

What particularly pleases me in the above extract is not the purpose of extending the privilege of a provision of this nature to the natives in their present condition, for in their present circumstances it would be a nullity to them, but the indication which it affords that the Commissioners must have recommended to his Majesty's government such a change in their condition as would put it into their power to avail themselves of such a provision. In their present condition, the natives have no choice as to the place of their abode; they are entirely in the hands of the colonists and the local authorities of the colony, and are liable to be ap-

prehended as vagabonds if they are found without a written pass. Even in the English district of Albany, under the authority of an English magistrate, they are, according to the most recent letters I have had from that part of the colony, seized by that officer's orders, and disposed of by him among his friends, as if they were so many slaves he had purchased by the investment of his personal property*.

* The following extract of a letter (dated September, 1827) from an English emigrant in Albany, and the forcible commentary upon it, which have just been furnished to me by my worthy friend the Rev John Campbell, exhibit an apt illustration of the state of things still existing in that part of the colony:—

"Mr. —— still retains his propensity for strong drink. It has reduced him to one of the meanest situations a European can hold in this place. He is an understrapper in the police—his business is to take into custody all *stray Hottentots*, for which he is allowed nine-pence per head—and to take criminals to and from government works. This office is in about the same repute as hangman in England." [The following is Mr. Campbell's Commentary.]

"*Stray Hottentot* means a Hottentot who chuses to go on a visit to a friend, a few or more miles from his own residence without a pass, or written permission so to do. Yet Hottentots are declared to be *free* by the Cape government—like the French who invaded Holland, professedly to deliver them from the thraldom of the stadholder, and to put them in possession of perfect liberty. But while they were always proclaiming to the Dutch that they were a free nation, they were reducing them to poverty, forcing their young men into the French army, and thus depriving them of their national existence. What would an Englishman in Chelsea think of a foreign power which had seized the reins of government, and proclaimed the population to be free, yet he found he durst not visit a friend at Hammersmith without a pass from a justice of peace, or expose himself to capture, imprisonment, whipping, and then to hard labour for four or five years, for a small pittance, while his wife and children were starving at home? This is the liberty England gives to Hottentots in their *own* country.—J. C."

CHAPTER XVII.

Further Remarks on the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry.—Want of sympathy in the Local Magistracy for the Coloured Races, and their constant temptations under the existing system to oppress them.—Necessity for conferring an equality of civil privileges on the Aborigines, in order that the contemptuous feelings of the privileged classes towards them may be overcome.—Remarks on the theories of a diversity of origin in races of men of different colours.—Curious concurrence in similar opinions among European Colonists and Slave-holders.—Comparison between the Britons in Cæsar's time, and the natives of South Africa in ours.—The natural love of freedom not less strong in the Bushman than the Briton.—Examples.—Remark of Africaner.—Character and Condition of the Bechuana Refugees now in the Colony.—Easy and equitable plan of procuring free labourers from the native tribes.—Oppression has not improved the Hottentots—let us now try Justice.—The restoration of their just rights to the Aborigines will elevate all classes of the inhabitants, and put an end to the disorders on the Northern frontier.—Concluding Remarks on this subject.

The remarks we have made in the preceding chapter upon the provisions which his Majesty's commissioners propose to be made for the religious instruction of the natives, are equally applicable to the suggestions contained in another passage now before us, with this difference,—that it generalizes the principle on which we supposed their recommendation to have proceeded, and leads us to infer that they have recommended to the government at home, that the same civil rights should

be extended to the coloured population in every part of the colony. "However distant the hope may be of effecting the concentration of these scattered colonists, we cannot help urging the appointment of a person invested with magisterial authority; and by whose influence some change may be effected in their lawless habits, and some protection and encouragement afforded to the coloured races who have sought it, and are not unwilling to become permanent occupiers of land, or to settle in villages, and thence to enter into service for short periods."

Merely to change the barbarous name of a field-cornet into that of a justice of the peace, might be agreeable enough to the ear of an Englishman; but that might easily be done without effecting any change in the condition of the natives. All the care which could be employed to select men to fill such an office, (in that part of the country in which they would be called to reside,) who might be supposed to have less sympathy with the farmers than the local authorities now in those districts, will afford no security against oppression while the present system is allowed to remain.

From the personal intercourse I have had with his Majesty's Commissioners, and from the opinion I have formed of their characters and good feelings towards the coloured population, I feel confident that they would never have recommended that such a provision as has been mentioned should be made for the religious instruction of the natives, except on the supposition that their present chains would be broken, and that they would, in future, be allowed to choose for themselves the places at which they might desire to reside.

In the circumstances in which the natives are placed,

it must be evident to every one, who has paid attention to what has been said of them in these volumes, that such a recommendation, on any other principle than that which we have stated, would induce a suspicion as to the object of the Commissioners in framing it, which, I am happy to say, receives no countenance from their published reports, and is at perfect variance with all I have seen of them when I had the honour of their acquaintance at the Cape of Good Hope *.

As matters stood at the Cape some years ago, it was quite sufficient to exclude a man from office, and from all chance of preferment, if it was known that he did not sympathize with the farmers, and had any particular leaning toward the natives; and whatever change for the better may have since taken place in the administration of the Cape government, I believe it would be difficult to find one man in ten who would accept of such an appointment, who would not speedily learn to sympathize with the colonists in all their feelings, and become the apologist of all their measures.

While, in the following extracts, we are furnished with an illustration of the opinion we have advanced as to the small chance of any advantage to the natives which such an appointment might afford, it directs us to one of those evils in our colonial system, which has long tended to retard their improvement, and the improvement of the colony itself.

"In later periods, military officers, retired on the

* In speaking of his Majesty's Commissioners, I wish it to be understood that I speak of J. T. Bigge, Esq., and Major Colebrooke. W. Blair, Esq., whose name is also attached to several of the reports, did not arrive in the colony till I was on the eve of leaving it to return to England.

half-pay of their corps, have, in some instances, been selected for the situation of Landdrosts, and, to a certain degree, superseding the claims of the junior civil servants who have passed through the subordinate branches. If, however, the former had the advantage of being exempt from feelings and prejudices of a local nature towards the coloured classes of the population, yet from the circumstance of their engaging in agricultural pursuits, (which, from the smallness of their salaries, and the annexation of land to their residencies, they have been more or less induced to do,) it has been observed that, when long established, they have imbibed, in as strong a degree as any of the natives, the desire of maintaining the policy by which the interests and the existence (we may be allowed to add) of the coloured race have been rendered subservient to their own."

This monstrous anomaly, which was unknown in the colonial jurisprudence of the Romans, and not admitted, till a late period, into the Dutch colonies, accounts, to a certain extent, for the present degraded state of the coloured population at the Cape, and for the obstinacy with which the colonial government has resisted every attempt to procure a redress of their grievances, and to improve their condition; but there is another part of the same system yet to be noticed, which is still more widely extended in its operation, and which contributes still more largely and powerfully to the accumulation of wretchedness under which the natives of this country are suffering. While the love of gain shall continue to exercise a greater influence over the minds of men than the love of justice, and mutual interests in any particular class of society shall give rise to mutual sympa-

thies, the great prevalence at the Cape of Good Hope of the practice deprecated by the Commissioners in this extract, could not fail to produce the mischievous effects they have ascribed to it; but the love of uncontrolled power, which the present condition of the natives has furnished the colonial authorities with the means of gratifying to so odious an extent as has been unfolded in these volumes, has, perhaps, contributed more to increase and perpetuate their insufferable bondage, than the cravings of avarice, or any reciprocity of interests between them and the colonial inhabitants.

The immediate advantage derived from the forced and cheap labour of the natives can only be felt in a powerful degree by such of the magistrates as engage in extensive farming concerns; but the power of disposing of the natives and their labour, according to their own pleasure, without any assured control upon their actions, is felt by all—and with as much force by those who may be supposed, by their education, to be exempted from colonial prejudices, and to be raised, by their circumstances in life, above the temptation of supporting the system for the paltry gain they may acquire by it, as it is by such as have been schooled in the selfish maxims and in the partialities and antipathies of the boors.

While the proclamations of the colonial government can be construed, as they now are, to support this monstrous assumption of power; and while the magistrates can arrest, imprison, and flog the natives, as is now the practice; fix the price of their labour, as has been the custom; enter their families, and dispose of their children without the consent of the parents; give the parents as well as the children to their friends, and compel them

to enter into contracts—any increase of the present number of magistrates would amount only to a division of the patronage now shared by the existing authorities of the colony.

Such is the formidable nature of the power that the magistrates of this colony exercise over both colonists and natives, that the control they now have over the labourers of the colony makes them, in a measure, the arbiters of the fortunes of their employers *. The authority which places such a large proportion of the productive labour of a country at their disposal, puts into their hands the bread of the master; and there are a great proportion of men who would brave, with some degree of courage, when under a powerful excitement, the fear of a violent death, whose independence of spirit would be subdued by the apprehension of seeing themselves and their families reduced to a state of starvation.

It is impossible to contemplate the bearings of this important question, and not feel how much the best interests of the colonists are involved in its decision. This is the view which his Majesty's Commissioners have taken of the subject; and I cannot see on what ground the British government can demur in putting an end to a system which presents to the magistrates such temptations to the frequent violation of their duties, places in their hands a control over the interests of the colonists which no class of men should possess, and which reduces to a state of comparative worthlessness the herdsmen and cultivators of the soil, who, under other circumstances, might become, like our British

* This remark has a particular reference to the interior of the colony. In Cape Town, where the inhabitants are principally served by slaves, this evil is not much felt.

peasantry, the sinews of the government and the pride of the country.

Contempt and injustice are nearly allied; and as much of the injustice done to the natives has arisen from this cause *, one of the first steps, on the part of the govern-

* A common observer will soon remark, in South Africa, a considerable difference in the feelings of the colonists toward the natives and the slaves. The slaves are often regarded by the farmers with the feelings they cherish toward the other part of the live stock on their farms; but the natives are too often viewed as a kind of vermin merely, which are to be tolerated because they are useful in grubbing up others of a more destructive nature. These feelings toward the natives are not confined to the Dutch colonists, but frequently manifest themselves as strongly in English gentlemen, who have been but a few years in the country, as they do in the oldest inhabitants. This spirit of animosity against the natives, in vulgar minds, may be easily accounted for; but it is so little under the influence of any known rule, that it is often as powerful, and I may, perhaps, add as whimsical, in its appearances, in the minds of the educated classes of society, as it is in those of the rude and illiterate. Expressing my surprise one day, that a gentleman, who was an Englishman, and an officer in the British army, and who then filled a civil office in the colony, should act with so much barbarity to the natives, the gentleman, to whom I made the observation, and who had been an officer in the same regiment, remarked—"I am not at all surprised at the circumstances to which you advert, and which I know to be true. He is a good family man, he is very kind-hearted to the colonists, and when he was in the Cape regiment he used to doat upon every Hottentot who wore the uniform of the regiment, but he never could endure the sight of a Hottentot who was not a soldier." Few minds have strength enough to rise above the contempt thrown upon a people by invidious and odious regulations; and the difference between the Hottentots under our army regulations, and the same people under the degrading regulations to which they are subject in their colonial bondage, may have given rise to this peculiar state of mind. To the Hottentot soldier he would attach the ideas associated with British valour—with the Hottentot bondman he would associate feelings of contempt.

ment, in their favour, should be the introduction of such measures as may improve their condition, and teach their oppressors to respect them. When it shall be seen that the laws of the colony make no distinction between the proud master and those whom he considers as belonging to an inferior class of beings, the administration of an impartial justice will generate, in the breast of the former, ideas of a common relationship, and secure for the oppressed a milder treatment.

Such as are acquainted with the writings of Rousseau, Lord Kames, and other writers belonging to that school, are not ignorant of the attempt which has been made, in opposition to the Bible, to establish a theory, representing the human race as derived from different stocks. Apart from the authority on which the Mosaic account of the creation of man is built, the consideration of God's having made of one blood all the nations of the earth, is much more simple and beautiful, and has a greater tendency to promote love and concord among the members of the human family, than that which traces the different members of that family to different origins, giving rise to invidious distinctions, flattering the pride of one class of men, and affording a pretext to justify the oppressions of another. Had this opinion, which we are combating, been perfectly innocuous in its operation, or had it been confined to philosophers, we might have left it to its fate; but its prevalence, and the use which has been made of it, show that it is as hostile to the best interests of humanity as it is to the truth of Scripture.

It is a singular fact, that the injuries done to the negroes on the western and eastern coasts of Africa, the murders formerly committed by the boors on the Hot-

tentots and Bushmen in South Africa, and the privations and sufferings endured by many of the slaves within the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, are justified on this principle. Expostulate with many farmers in South Africa for excluding their slaves and Hottentots from their places of worship and denying them the means of religious instruction, and they will tell you at once, that they are an inferior race of beings. Asking a farmer, in the district of Caledon, whether a black man standing by him could read, he looked perfectly astonished at the question, and supposed he had quite satisfied my query by saying, "Sir, he is a slave!" In the same manner, the cruelties exercised by the Spaniards upon the Americans were justified by their wretched theologians, by denying that the poor Americans were men because they wanted beards, the sign of virility among other nations.

We are all born savages, whether we are brought into the world in the populous city or in the lonely desert. It is the discipline of education, and the circumstances under which we are placed, which create the difference between the rude barbarian and the polished citizen—the listless savage and the man of commercial enterprise—the man of the woods and the literary recluse.

Take a number of children from the nursery, place them apart, and allow them to grow up without instruction or discipline, the first state of society into which they would naturally form would be the hunter's state. While food could be obtained by the chase, they would never think of cultivating the ground: inured to hardships, they would despise many things which, in a civilized state of society, are deemed indispensable.

In seasons of common danger, they would unite their efforts in their own defence; their union, being nothing more than a voluntary association, would be liable to frequent interruptions; the affairs of their little community would be to them the whole world; and the range of their thoughts would be limited to the exercise their fears and hopes might have in relation to their own individual danger or safety.

"The Romans might have found an image of their own ancestors in the representations they have given of ours." And we may see what our ancestors were at the time Julius Cæsar invaded Britain, by the present condition of the Caffer tribes of South Africa. It is here we see, as in a mirror, the features of our progenitors, and, by our own history, we may learn the pitch to which such tribes may be elevated, by means favourable to their improvement.

Numerous proofs have been adduced in these volumes illustrative of the capabilities of the natives of South Africa, and I trust that it has been clearly shown, that the degradation and depressions under which many of them still labour, may be satisfactorily accounted for by the treatment they have so long experienced at the hands of Europeans, in the absence of all counteracting and meliorating circumstances.

If we desire to see how much the character of a people depends upon the influence of the laws and government under which they live, let us look at the contrast exhibited between many nations which, at one period, attained to the highest celebrity, and their present condition. If further evidence of this fact be wanting, we may change our illustration, and show how nations, which were once viewed as deficient in mental capa-

city, have reached the highest place in the scale of empire, while the nations which, at one period, contemned them, have sunk into a state of degeneracy.

When the inhabitants of this free country are heard justifying the injuries inflicted upon the natives of Africa, or opposing the introduction of liberal institutions among any class of them, on the vulgar grounds that they are an inferior class of beings to us, it is but fair to remind them that there was a period when Cicero considered their own ancestors as unfit to be employed as slaves in the house of a Roman citizen. Seated one day in the house of a friend in Cape Town, with a bust of Cicero on my right hand, and one of Sir Isaac Newton on the left, I accidentally opened a book on the table at that passage in Cicero's letter to Atticus, in which the philosopher speaks so contemptuously of the natives of Great Britain*. Struck with the curious coincidence arising from the circumstances in which I then found myself placed, pointing to the bust of Cicero, and then to that of Sir Isaac Newton, I could not help exclaiming, "Hear what that man says of that man's country!" It is only under a free government, and in the possession of local advantages, that the human mind, like the tree planted in a generous soil, attains to its full growth and proportions. It is where men are governed by equal laws; where government becomes regular, and stands on the basis of liberal institutions; where rulers are under salutary checks; where the

* "Britannici belli exitus expectatur: constat enim aditus insulæ esse munitos mirificis molibus: etiam illud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem prædæ nisi ex mancipiis: ex quibus nullos puto, te literis aut musicis eruditos expectare."—*Epist. ad Atticum*, l. iv., Epist. 16.

population is raised above the chilling influence of penury; where they have peace in which to cultivate and reap their fields,—that the march of the human mind is unimpeded, and soars, and sustains its flight, in those elevations which excite the admiration and astonishment of nations.

At our missionary schools, you will see the young Hottentot, the Bushman's child, and the young Caffers, with countenances beaming with intelligence, and surpassing the children of the colonists in their school exercises. No English school boys can exhibit finer appearances of genius, or make greater proficiency in the same period of time; but there are impediments to the improvement of the one, while the other may proceed in an unobstructed path. The child of the slave makes a progress, at school, equal to that of his young master; but when he discovers that his abilities only raise his price in the market, they are either cramped in their further developement, or are diverted into a wrong channel. The young Hottentot feels the rivalship of the school; but when he has left it, all stimulus ceases; every road to preferment is shut against him. The barbarian, on the borders of our colony, has his faculties elevated by education, but all his ingenuity is required to defend him against the injuries and encroachments of his civilized neighbours.

We have already shown that the increasing demand for labourers, in the Cape colony, has given rise to the commando system, and to most of the evils which have accompanied it; and as this demand must every year increase in the same proportion in which the colonists augment their numbers, any measure which government may adopt to put an end to this cruel system which

has been carried on so long against the natives, which does not make a provision for the supply of that demand, will ultimately fail in its object. Any plan which will prove efficient to prevent the colonists from carrying on the present ferocious warfare against the natives, must hold out encouragement to induce the natives to enter freely into the service of the colonists, and to remain with them in voluntary service. While the present colonial system must have a discouraging effect upon the increase of free labourers within the colony, and cannot fail to neutralize such remedies, as that proposed by the Commissioners, to put a stop to the atrocities which must still continue to arise out of the existing mode which the colonists have of supplying themselves with servants; it presents an insuperable barrier which prevents the aboriginal inhabitants beyond it from willingly entering into the service of the colonists. The love of liberty is as strong in the natives of South Africa as it is in the inhabitants of this country; and many of them would suffer death rather than be reduced to that state of slavery under which the Aborigines within the colony are placed.

The spirit which animated the Spartans who fell at Thermopylæ, contending for their political rights, was not more resolute and determined than that which actuates the roving Bushmen when they have no alternative but *personal* slavery* or death.

During my late journey into the interior of South Africa, I was informed by some persons who were in a late commando against a tribe of Bushmen, that the

* "Much as I hate political slavery," said Fox, "compared with personal slavery, it is a bare metaphor."

tribe consisted of twenty-five men; that the engagement lasted nine hours; that during that period three different offers were made to the Bushmen that they should have their lives, if they would surrender; but they contemned the proposal, and continued to defend themselves till seventeen were killed, and the others, though wounded, did not attempt to escape till they saw their chief fall.

A party of wild Bushmen, upon one occasion, came to make war upon one of our missionary stations. Being interrogated as to the grounds of their intended aggression, they stated that their chief had lost one of his sons, and that they had been told that he was in a state of slavery at that station, and that they had come to demand his liberty. The missionaries informed them that the boy was not in slavery, and that he was at perfect liberty to accompany them if he pleased. On being presented to his father, he declared, in the hearing of his own people, that he was not treated as a slave; that the missionaries had never attempted to detain him contrary to his will; and that it was his wish to be allowed to remain where he was. With this declaration the father instantly declared himself satisfied. He said, he had been told he was a slave; and, if that had been the case, he had determined to fight for his liberty; but as he found that he was treated as a freeman, he left him to his own choice, either to accompany him or to remain where he was.

Previous to the arrival of the deputation from the London Missionary Society in South Africa, the missionaries, sent from Europe, had been prevented from proceeding to the place of their destination beyond the colony, and every means was now used to persuade

the writer of this work to remove the missionaries at Griqua Town, and to bring them into the colony. The reason assigned for this proposal was,—"That if the missionaries were brought within the colony, the people would accompany them." At that period, I had been but a short time in the colony, and knew very little of the state of the aborigines; and the noted Africaner being then in town, I stated to him that the colonial government was anxious that all the missionaries, with the people under their instruction, should come within the limits of the colony, and that I should be glad to hear his opinion on the subject. To this proposal the chief made the following reply:—"I have no objections to be under the British government, if I am to be treated as a freeman; but I never can consent to live in the neighbourhood of the farmers. Let government point out to me a situation where I can live, with my people, at a distance from the boors, and I shall accompany you to that spot. I and my people are willing to serve the English government, but we are not willing to be slaves. Namaqualand is a desert country; it is hard living in Namaqualand; but I would rather bear any kind of hardship, in the wilderness, from the hand of God, than be subject to the continual and degrading vexations I should have reason to apprehend from the tyranny and injustice of man."

In pleading the cause of the native population to be found in the northern districts of the colony, it may be proper, in this place, to particularize the different classes of them. Those of them chiefly interested in this question consist of *Bastaards*, or Mulatoes, who have been already described, and of Hottentots, Bushmen, and Bechuanas, with a slight mixture of Namaquas and Corannas. The number of the Bushmen now existing in a state

slavery, in what was recently their own country, together with their good qualities, and their importance to the farmers, particularly in the grazing districts, have been adverted to in numerous passages of this work; and, after what has been said of the character and capabilities of the Hottentots, we may dismiss this part of our subject without further remarks.

The very limited number of Namaquas and Corannas who are in the service of the boors makes it unnecessary to give any more particular description of them; but the Bechuanas, who have been lately introduced into the colony in such numbers, require a more particular notice.

The Bechuanas now in the colony are an industrious class of people. Submission to authority is, with them, a habit which has been formed in their own country. They have been trained up from infancy in matters connected with the management of cattle; they are fond of gardening,—and you seldom visit their houses, or the houses where they are in service, and find them idle. In the gardens which they cultivate at Griqua Town, I have seen them employed, from morning till night, with as much diligence as if they had been English servants; and I never visited their houses but I found them engaged in repairing their fences, putting their little household articles in their proper places, making every thing around them clean, or in some other domestic occupation.

Shortly after their first introduction into the colony, the Rev. A. Faure, one of the Dutch ministers in Cape Town, received several letters from his friends in Graaff-Reinet, stating that they made most excellent servants. During my journey into the interior, in

1825, I visited different farm-houses where these people had been a few weeks only in the service of the boors, and they were even then so handy at every thing connected with the farm, and of so much use to their employers, that some of them told me that they should be ruined if they were taken from them.

With these facts before us, few will have the hardihood to assert that it would be fair and equitable to consign these people and their children to hopeless and wretched servitude, as a remuneration to their employers for the loss sustained by them before they come to be useful to them.

While the present system continues, the want of labourers must be increasingly felt, or illegal methods must be had recourse to to obtain them; but if they are made free, like the other colonists, and, like them, protected in their rights, in their persons, and in their property, the illegal measures we deprecate will be prevented, and the colonists will soon find that South Africa is able to furnish a supply of labourers equal to their utmost demand. The people, now rendered comparatively worthless by oppression, will rapidly increase in numbers and in value; and many who are acquiring a taste for civilized life by their connexion with our missionary stations, will prefer labour, with a state of freedom, within the colony, to the unprotected situations in which they are placed in their present circumstances.

A plan of this nature will require time to operate; but the success is certain. A young man, a Bechuana, in my service in Cape Town, returned to his native place with me in my late journey. When he appeared among his countrymen, they crowded about him, asked

him whether he was free; how he obtained his gun, and clothing, and beads; and whether he meant to return with his master. No sooner had he satisfied them that he was a free man, that he acquired his property as the reward of his services, and that he would not remain among them if they would make him a chief, than dozens of the people crowded about me, pressing me to accept of them, and take them with me.

By the adoption of the liberal system I am recommending, such of the Bechuanas as may have acquired property in the colony will visit their friends. Individuals of them may remain, but the greater part will return to the colony, and bring many of their friends and acquaintances along with them.

On a superficial view of the subject, it may be thought that this system would injure the property of the slave proprietor; but it should be recollected, that the value of land will rise as labourers multiply, and the price of labour diminishes. While the price of labour continues so high, the proprietor cannot avail himself of the capabilities of his property, and the value of land can never be improved. The produce of a farm, in favourable situations, cannot do more than defray the expense of labour; and, while this obstacle to improvement exists, vast tracts of the colony, which might be brought under cultivation, must lie waste.

The slave proprietors have nothing to apprehend from the mode now proposed of increasing the number of free labourers in the colony. The price of slaves at the Cape has been greatly reduced within the last two years; but this depreciation has arisen from the circumstances which have brought the colony into the financial difficulties under which it is now labouring, and is not

owing, in the smallest degree, to the increase of native labourers. The districts of the country in which the farmers are not in the possession of slaves and not able to purchase them, together with the growing demand of the colony for an increase of labourers, will for many years swallow up all the labourers that can be procured by the change of system recommended within the colony, without affecting the price of slaves, who are chiefly confined to the Cape district, and those parts of the colony into which the introduction of native labourers must be very slow and gradual.

No national improvement can take place in any country that will not be found, in its progress, to injure particular interests; but should it happen, in the course of things, that a few slave proprietors should suffer by a reduction in the price of their slaves by the encouragement of free labourers in the colony, they will have ample compensation for the loss they may sustain from this cause, in the advanced value of all their fixed property.

After having said so much, in the last part of the first volume of this work, on the duty of government towards the natives who have been bred up within the colony, and after the quotations from the Reports of the Commissioners, on which we have made our comments, it is unnecessary to enter much more into detail respecting our views as to what should be done for the natives; but we cannot close this chapter, and take our final leave of the subject, without again recurring to it, and again recommending that the natives be placed in future under the same laws as the colonists. The natives will still have much to suffer, and the colonists, particularly in the remoter districts, will have but too many oppor-

tunities of abusing their power with impunity, if the laws and even the magistrates are in their favour; but when the protection of equal laws shall be extended to all the coloured population, the British government will have done one part of its duty, and the friends of the aborigines will have some encouragement in their benevolent attempts to shield them from oppression and to ameliorate their condition.

We ask for no new laws: we simply ask that the colonists, and the different classes of the natives, should have the same civil rights granted to them. The liberty we ask is not an exemption from the law, but its protection; and the law grants no rights to the colonists which it may not extend with perfect safety to all classes in the colony.

No sound reason can be assigned against the extension to the natives of the laws which protect the colonists from oppression and injustice. The effects of oppression on the natives have been tried for nearly two hundred years in South Africa, and the results have been placed before us.

If the leg is galled by an iron chain, it is vain to prescribe ointment to cure the wound while the fetter remains. The first step towards the improvement of the natives must begin by removing the cause of their present degradation. They have been corrupted and debased by the uncontrolled power exercised over them by their European masters; and the legislative enactments which bestow on them equal rights, will prove a salutary check to the one, and afford the stimulus of hope to the other. While the colony of the Cape of Good Hope continues to have one set of laws for the rich, and another for the poor, its very consti-

tution presents as great a barrier to the improvement of the oppressor, as it does to that of the oppressed.

In an estimate formed by Dr. Johnson of what mankind have lost or gained by European conquest, having adverted to the cruelties which have been committed, and the manner in which the laws of religion have been outrageously violated, he adds,—"Europeans have scarcely visited any coast but to gratify avarice and extend corruption, to arrogate dominion without right, and practice cruelty without incentive;" and he then gives it as his opinion that it would have been happy for the oppressed, and still more happy for the invaders, that their designs had slept in their own bosoms. How far the description this distinguished writer gives of European avarice and cruelty towards the natives of other countries is applicable to the conduct of Europeans in South Africa, I leave my readers to estimate on a review of the details which have been furnished in these volumes; and if there be a shadow of truth in the remark, that the oppressor has placed himself in a worse condition than even the oppressed, we may fairly assume in the present argument, the principle (a principle which has been illustrated in other parts of this work) that to free the oppressed natives from the cruel bondage under which they now suffer, will be an act of greater benevolence to those who now oppress them and their families, than it will be even to the sufferers themselves.

We shall be excused if, in concluding our reflections on this subject, we reiterate a truth which it is the chief object of the author in this book to establish and inculcate, that the only method by which we can elevate all classes of people in the colony of the Cape of Good

Hope is, by elevating the coloured population to a full and fair participation of those privileges from which they have hitherto been excluded. Unless these privileges are granted to the natives in the remote and northern districts of our colony, the evil we have dwelt upon at so much length will neutralize the effects of every other remedy. We repeat it—there is but one method by which the system of rapine and murder, which has been as prejudicial to the colonists as it has been to the natives, can be effectually checked:—make the coloured population within your colony free—refuse to legalize to the colonists their usurped claims over the service of the men, women, and children they may have caught in their marauding expeditions—permit the natives to choose their own masters—secure to them, inviolate from the grasp of colonial violence, the right which God and nature have given them to their offspring—allow them to bring their labour to a fair market, and the farmers will no longer have occasion to complain of the want of servants; and, as there will no longer remain any temptation for commandoes, and as the colonists will thereby be compelled to win by kindness what they now seize by force, all classes will shortly be seen mingling together in one common fraternity, without bloodshed and without fear.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Deficiencies of the Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry in regard to the Natives.—Their Remarks on the effects of missions beyond the Colony.—Extracts from the Author's Journal relative to the destruction of two Bushman Kraals, and the Author's interview with the Murderers.—Causes of these Atrocities.—Respect evinced by the Wild Tribes for the Missionaries.—Examples of their Influence in subduing the rancorous animosities of the Natives, and of acquiring their perfect confidence and affection.—Anecdote of a Caffer chief placing his two sons at Theopolis for their education.

In the report of the Commissioners of Inquiry before us, a full developement of the participation which the colonial government has had in the sufferings and degradation of the natives, was, perhaps, more than we had a right to expect; yet I cannot help regretting that a document which has gone so minutely into so many minor details relative to government and finance should have had so little reference to this subject, and to the opposition made to the improvement of the people at our missionary stations. The Commissioners have made brief statements and concessions in their reports, which must prove serviceable to the cause of humanity; and I am aware, as has been already stated, that they have sent home to the colonial office in Downing-street, much writing on these subjects; yet I must confess that in these reports on the government and finances of the colony, I should have liked to have seen something more relating to the causes of those oppressions

under which the natives of the colony have suffered, and upon the advantages the colonial government might derive from the employment of such means as would render those labourers more productive, by raising them, as a body, to that rank which would enable them to become consumers of British manufactures.

The policy of the government towards the natives, independently of the influence it had in originating the measures which led to the appointment of the Commissioners of Inquiry, had the strongest claims, on the ground of its own merits, to particular attention in their reports; and if the taxes paid by the people at our missionary institutions, and the saving created to government by the cheap terms on which the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp contracted to carry the government stores from Algoa Bay to Graham's Town, the productive labour to which our missionary institutions have given rise, and the advantage which has been gained by the consumption of British manufactures by the people under the instruction of our missionaries, did not merit particular notice from the influence they have yet had on the resources of the colony, they at least furnish a fair illustration of the advantages the government may derive by adopting a more liberal system of policy towards this interesting class of its subjects. Having said so little of the missions within the colony, which occupied so large a portion of their time during their journey into the interior, we had no reason to expect much in these reports on the missions beyond the colony, which were not visited by them; but considering the channel through which they must have derived much of their information on this subject, we have no reason to find fault with them for the qualified praise they bestow upon them in the following extract;—

"Missionaries have been permitted to proceed to a greater distance in this direction than in any other; and although no great advance appears yet to have been made in the civilization of the tribes, nor advantage to have been gained from the trifling intercourse which their presence in the country may have tended to encourage, yet it has produced a feeling of respect for the English name and character, and a desire for peaceful intercourse, that may hereafter supersede the necessity of military protection against them, or the continuance of that hostile array on our frontier that obliges almost every herdsman to bear arms."

The beneficial effects of our missions in South Africa have been so fully illustrated by the facts and documents presented to the public in the preceding pages of this work, that any further details, with this view only, might be deemed unnecessary; but the circumstances related in the following narrative, which has been copied from my private journal, will I trust be found to possess an interest independent of the additional light which they throw upon this subject, and the corroboration they afford to the favourable opinion of the Commissioners, as to what the missions have effected, and as to what may be still expected from them, which will justify us in the eyes of our readers for its insertion in this place.

On the 24th of August, 1825, after crossing the Cradock River, we came in sight of a Bushman kraal. On parts of the road, over which we had travelled, the Bushmen, many of whom had heard of our approach, came from their lurking-places to meet us.

Some of our interviews with them were very affecting, and we now anticipated something of the same

nature here. But on approaching the place, we discovered no fire, no smoke, no parents with their children in their arms; and those that could walk were hiding themselves behind the carosses of their mothers, and taking timid and stolen glances at the strangers. On the very edge of the road where we had to turn off to the kraal, the first sight which met our view, was a murdered Bushman, and the clothing of a Bushwoman. A little further on were the remains of another Bushman, recently killed. These murders had been committed at a little distance from a fire at which they had been surprised, and the path they had taken in their flight, we traced by the cooking utensils, and part of their little furniture they had dropped in making their escape. Beside one of the dead bodies was a bow, and one arrow, without a point. We discovered nothing beside the other. The place which had once been a kraal was empty. On our arrival at Rama, a distance of about eighteen miles from this melancholy scene, our first business was to inquire into the causes of the scenes we had witnessed. We were here informed that a kraal of Corannas on the great river, and about three or four hours distant from the place at which we then were, had, within the course of a few days, made two commandoes against two Bushman kraals; the one in the neighbourhood of the place at which we had seen the murdered Bushman, and the other at what was formerly the missionary station of Hephzibah, on the other side of the river; and it was reported that they had killed many of the people, and taken away all the cattle, sheep, and goats. The same evening I sent a message to the Coranna kraal, requesting the chief and a party of his men to come to me at Rama, next day, as I had

matters of importance to lay before them. In the afternoon the Corannas, to the number of twenty-two, arrived with their chief. The first feeling I had on looking at those people, was one of surprise at their appearance. I expected a horde of naked savages, and I found a number of smart young men, dressed quite in the style of the most respectable farmers in the colony. The young men had generally white fustian jackets, leather pantaloons, striped waistcoats, white hats, with broad edges, shirts, neckcloths, stockings and shoes; and the chief was dressed in a blue jacket and pantaloons, and a very handsome surtout with silk facings and edgings. On the arrival of the Corannas, we were informed that the Bechuana girls, we had picked up a few days before, instantly recognised in their new visitors the unwelcome faces of their captors. The Corannas endeavoured to persuade them to return with them; and when they found entreaties would not do, they began to assume a tone of authority, but the girls laughed at them, and pointed to my waggon as their protection.

After having seated themselves before me in my tent, I asked the chief if he had heard of a letter I had sent to the Bergenaars, inviting them to meet me at Adam Kok's (a distance of about fifty miles), to consult with them about the means of repressing their disorders, establishing some kind of regular government among them, and of uniting them to the Griquas. The chief replied, "I have heard of the letter, and have been long wishing to see you in this country, hoping that you would assign us our boundaries, and re-establish peace among us." In reply, I stated that, to establish peace, it might be necessary that the limits of their respective

territories should be defined; but that there could be no peace without justice. I stated that I had seen, since I came into their country, that power was among them the measure of right and wrong; that the weak were oppressed by the strong; that every man made his own inclination the measure of his duty; and that the most cruel murders were sanctioned, or allowed to pass unpunished. I then remarked that on the 24th instant, about sixteen or eighteen miles from this place, I had observed upon the road the remains of some murdered Bushmen; that on inquiring as to the cause of those murders, I was informed that they had been perpetrated by his people, and that, at the same time, they had attacked two Bushman kraals, one on the west side of the river near Hephzibah, and within the colony, and the other on the east side of the river, and near the place where the dead Bushmen, I had described, had been killed; and that in those attacks the people had been murdered and dispersed, and all their cattle, sheep, and goats, carried off by their murderers.

The chief was evidently much affected at this address; he sighed, looked round on his people, singled out by his eye the guilty individuals, shook his head, and replied,—"I was as a dead man in this affair; I knew nothing of it; it was done in my absence; and all I know about it is, that such things have been done, and that the sheep and cattle are at my kraal." Having uttered these words, again looking around upon his people with an expression of affection and regret, he seemed to say, as far as looks and manner could convey the feelings of his mind, "Young men! young men! I have often warned you against these things; I have told you what they would bring upon you; and you

see my predictions are now coming to pass." Having declared his ignorance of the transactions, I requested him to point out to us the men in his company by whom they were conducted, that I might interrogate them. Naming Abraham Krieger, and pointing to him, he said, "This is the young man who conducted the commando in which the Bushmen you have noticed were killed;" and, turning to the young man himself, he said, "Abraham, answer the Heer (the gentleman) his questions." The following is the account which Krieger gave of this commando. He stated, that he had lost three cows; that he had gone in pursuit of them; that he came to that part of the road where he saw two Bushmen setting by a fire; that a Caffer who was with him said, "These are the Bushmen who may have taken your cows;" that he called upon them to come to him; that they took up their bows and arrows, as if they had intended to aim at him, and that he then shot them. On being further questioned, he stated, that he then proceeded to a kraal of Bushmen, formerly in this place, but then two or three hours distant; that he, with his people, attacked the kraal, took nine children, sixteen milch cows, and seventeen goats. On being cross-examined, he confessed his cows were not found in the possession of the Bushmen he had shot, nor at the kraal. Being further questioned, he stated, that twelve months ago one person of his kraal had been murdered; and that, though he could not find his cows with them, he considered himself justified in destroying the kraal, to revenge the death of one of his people.

After hearing his defence, I stated to him, that the account he had given of the murder of the Bushmen by

the side of the road did not agree with the circumstances which had come under my own observation; that the first Bushman who had fallen did not fall near the fire, defending himself, but in his flight, and about a gun-shot's distance from the fire; that the road he had taken in his flight I had traced by the articles he had dropped in his hurry to escape; and afterwards the spot where he had received the mortal wound I had traced by his blood to the place where he had fallen, which was exactly eight paces distant from that on which he had received the ball which killed him; that the other Bushman had fallen about two gun-shots further off, so that after shooting the former he must have pursued the other; and that it did not appear, from any thing I had seen, that they had more than one bow and arrow between them, and that that arrow, which was in my possession with the bow, was without a point. I further stated, that he had no evidence whatever that these people had taken his cows, nor had he any evidence that his friend was killed by the people of that kraal. Having explained the principles of justice, and asked him whether he would think it just for any one to shoot him, as he did the Bushmen, on the bare suspicion that he had stolen a horse,—or whether he would think that the colonial government would act justly were they to destroy all his kraal, involving the innocent with the guilty, to revenge the murder of which he had been guilty in the death of these Bushmen,—I stated to him, that I could not view him in any light but that of a murderer; that the world, which might hear of the transaction, would not view him under any other aspect; and that had the king of England's own brother done such a deed in England

as he had done in this case, he must have suffered death for the offence.

The leader of the other commando was then called upon to make his defence. He stated, that he saw four Bushmen, belonging to the Hephzibah kraal, carrying off four of his calves; that this was in broad daylight; that he himself, and a number of his people, were prevented from following them immediately because they were, at the time, forming a large circle inclosing game, and they were without arms; but that, on their return from the chase, they mustered and attacked the kraal, took one child and all the sheep and cattle belonging to the people. This defence was as lame as the former.

In hunting game in this manner, they sometimes inclose lions and tigers. It is one of the most dangerous occupations in which such people can engage; and such attempts are never made by men unarmed; and none acquainted with the circumstances of the Bushmen could believe that four of that people could carry off, at mid-day, and in sight of so many armed men as must have been employed in this hunt, the calves which they were accused of having stolen. They would not state how many sheep and cattle they had taken from this kraal; and they were uncandid enough to say that they had not numbered them, although it is obvious they must have been numbered before they were divided among the party by whom they were taken. They admitted that, though the Bushmen were followed the same evening, they did not find in their kraal, nor among their cattle, a single vestige of the calves they were said to have stolen, and which was the pretext under which the people were attacked,

robbed, and murdered. These instances are recorded not so much for their own individual importance, but as an additional illustration of the nature of the commando system.

On summing up the evidence, and delivering my opinion on the case, I stated that they might not be immediately punished for their crimes, but that blood had a voice that reaches to heaven; that the Judge of this whole earth was, in a particular manner, the avenger of the oppressed; that murderers seldom escaped in this world; and that, without deep repentance, I was of opinion that neither of them would be suffered to die in peace. I had made but little impression upon Krieger; but, on delivering these sentiments, the person who headed the other commando was much affected. He lamented his fault, and confessed that it was long before he would have any thing to do with those commandoes, and said that he never had had an hour's peace of mind since he engaged in them.

After giving some suitable exhortations to the parties more immediately engaged in this nefarious business, I addressed the chief before them; and after pointing out to him the necessity of employing his authority in repressing crimes, and in the administration of justice, I told him, that if he could not punish the individuals who had been most guilty in these bloody transactions, it was his duty to resign his authority into the hands of some individual who might be able and willing to punish and restrain them. I added, that his people appeared to have improved in understanding, and to have learned many things connected with the comforts and decencies of life, by their connexions with the colony; but that the most odious and wicked people upon

earth were those who had their natural talents improved, while the culture of the heart was neglected, and they remained without the restraints of law and government. That the improvement of such a people in their intellectual powers only, increased their power of doing mischief; and that in such a state as that in which they now were, they united in themselves the strength of the lion, the ferocity of the tiger, and the cunning of the fox. I strongly recommended to the chief to go with his people to Griqua Town, where they would hear the gospel preached, and have the means of getting their children educated. I at the same time stated to them that, while they continued in their present practices, the worst passions of human nature would every day be acquiring additional strength; that, by permitting them to murder Bushmen, their passions would gain such an ascendency over them, that murder would lose all its deformity in their opinion; and that they would be speedily seen murdering each other.

If the language in which I addressed this people on this occasion did not accord with the circumstances in which I was placed, I have only to say, in the way of apology, that I was so strongly affected with the scenes I had witnessed, that I never once thought of myself during this interview; and I have to thank Providence that my admonitions and severe reproofs were listened to, and received with apparent submission. The chief at first said, he wished the people to give back the sheep and cattle, but that they would not obey him. In a few minutes, however, he went out and consulted with them, and came back, and requested me to appoint a person to settle the affair; declaring that he would

instantly restore the ten children, and the whole of the property; and that he would endeavour to find out for me the Bushmen who had escaped the slaughter. I acceded to his proposal, and appointed Piet Sabat, formerly a native teacher, to go to his kraal next day and to receive them, according to his promise; to collect all the people he could find; and to send them to the missionary institution at Philippolis.

During these proceedings it was amusing to observe the countenances of the Caffer girls. If they previously supposed I had power to protect them, their idea of their safety must have been greatly increased by what they witnessed. They seemed lost in wonder and admiration to see such a band of men, who carried the thunder and lightning which destroyed their people, and made them suppose that they were more than human, trembling like criminals before an unarmed individual, who had no badges of office, and who had nothing before him but a table and writing-desk, paper, and a pen in his hand.

Sept. 20th.—When I entered in my journal, on the 22nd August, the nature of my intercourse with the Coranna chief and his people, I was in doubt whether the promises then made by them would be realized. However much they might appear to be affected by my address to them, when I considered the character and circumstances of the people, and the temptation they were under to retain the children and the cattle, &c., that they now possessed, and might still have retained with impunity, I could scarcely entertain a hope that the resolution they expressed to me at my waggon would retain sufficient strength to induce them to make the sacrifice required when the trial should be called for; but I am happy to say that my anxiety on this

point was soon relieved, and that my expectations have been exceeded. The following letter, which I have this day received from Piet Sabat, the person appointed by me to receive the children and the plundered cattle and herds, will be read with no common interest by the friends of humanity and of missions :—

"*Rama, Aug.* 27, 1825.

"SIR,

"According to your request I have visited Philip Mengo's kraal, and, according to the promise he and his people made to you, they delivered up to me nine children, seventy-six horned cattle, one hundred and nineteen goats, and five sheep, which they had taken from the two Bushman kraals plundered by them. From the colonial side of the river were taken fifty-three horned cattle, one hundred and six goats, and one child; and from the kraal on the other side were taken twenty-three horned cattle, thirteen goats, five sheep, and eight children; the number of people killed was ten.

"I sent for the Bushmen that had escaped, returned them their cattle, sheep, goats, and six children, and three I gave to Jan Goedman, to be taken care of at the missionary station at Philippolis. I am happy to say, Sir, that what you said to them made a great impression on their minds, and they promised not to do these bad things again.

"Your humble and most obedient servant,

"PIET SABAT."

Since receiving the above letter, I have received another from a person who is at present at the head of the Bushman mission at Philippolis, giving an account

of the same transactions, and of having received three of the nine children which had been delivered to Piet Sabat. In my instructions to Piet Sabat, I requested him to seek out the surviving Bushmen, and to restore to them the cattle returned by the Corannas, and also the children to such of the parents as he might find alive.

In this act of justice to the surviving Bushmen, the Corannas themselves assisted him. By their aid he found the survivors of both kraals, collected them together, restored their cattle to them, and the children to those of their parents who were still alive.

There is a small difference between the statement of Piet Sabat and Mr. Clark, as it respects the number of cattle taken from the Hephzibah Bushmen and returned to them; but to account for this discrepancy, it is necessary only to add that Piet Sabat's statement must be the most correct of the two, as Mr. Clark, when he wrote his letter to me, had not received my letter to him, nor any accounts of the affair, excepting such as had reached him through indirect channels.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Clark, the person then superintending the Bushman Missionary Institution of Philippolis.

"*Philippolis, September* 16, 1825.

"Between Rama and Paard-berg, the plundering Corannas have taken twenty-three head of cattle, thirteen goats, five sheep, and eight children, from one Bushman kraal. The Hephzibah Bushman kraal has, by the same Corannas, been robbed of seventy-eight head of cattle, one hundred and six goats, thirteen sheep, and one child. I am told that Piet Sabat has

again received the children, the cattle, goats, and sheep, and given them over to the surviving Bushmen. Six of the children have been restored to their parents, and three of the orphan children, whose parents were shot, have been received by me, for whom I shall provide."

It has been thought proper to give the preceding narrative as it has been copied from my private journal, reserving any explanatory remarks which may be required to this place. On perusing the details, the inquiry must have suggested itself more than once, How did these Corannas, by whom these Bushmen were attacked, obtain the clothing in which they appeared on this occasion? and how did they dare to enter the colony and destroy a Bushman kraal at Hephzibah, a place occupied at that very time by a colonist? These difficulties will be best solved by a brief reference to the history of this people, and to the relation in which they then stood to the colonists, and to the Bergenaars. We stated that the plunderers, who are known by this name, carried on an active traffic with the colony; and it appeared that the people in question belonged to this fraternity; that they were in the habit of accompanying them in their plundering expeditions; and that the station they then occupied, having the river only between them and the colony, furnished them with facilities of sharing in this nefarious traffic.

The testimony of the Bechuana girls, who immediately recognised them on their approaching the waggons, as the persons who had assisted in destroying their tribe, and by whom they had been carried into slavery, strengthened my first suspicions on this subject; and they were converted into certainty by

their own acknowledgment, and by the appearance of the chief himself, and a few of his principal people among the Bergenaars, when I was met by them, as has been formerly stated, at the public meeting which was convened at Griqua town on the 20th of September.

The connexion of this Coranna tribe with the Bergenaars sufficiently accounted for the nature of their dress, and for their military appearance; and their immediate neighbourhood to the colony, and the terms on which they were then living with the colonists, leaves upon the mind a painful impression as to the circumstances which might have led to their attacks on the Bushmen kraals which have been related *. The Bushmen, composing these two kraals, were the remains of the people who formed our missionary station at Hephzibah.

While the people were still waiting and praying for the return of their missionaries, the site of the institution containing the principal springs of water, was taken possession of by persons of different views from the missionaries, and they were forced to give place to the new occupants. A party of them retired to the place we have described on the other side of the river, and beyond the new colonial boundary; and this being one of the most remote places in this country occupied by the farmers, a party of them were suffered to remain at a short distance from the dwelling of the new proprietor. The accounts given of the success of the missionaries

* The Coranna tribes (not connected with this banditti) which I visited, had very few articles of British manufacture among them, and they were without the means of obtaining them. They were generally clothed in the sheep-skin kaross, and after the ancient manner of the Hottentots,

at this place, were even more favourable than those given of the labours of Mr. Smith and Jan Goedman, at Toverberg. The progress the people had made in knowledge and in civilization during the short time they had been under instruction, afforded the most pleasing indications as to the future progress they might have been expected to make, had their teachers been suffered to continue among them; but with the removal of the missionaries, they lost their protectors, and all the means under which they were making rapid advances in improvement; and from the account Mr. Thompson has given in his travels of those of them that were remaining in this place when he visited them, they appear to have sunk into a state of greater wretchedness than any of the other Bushmen he had seen in his tour.

Deprived of their springs of water, of the only grounds in the district they could cultivate, and of the game on which they formerly subsisted, by the new possessors of the country, their means of subsistence, at the time Mr. Thompson saw them, must have been greatly abridged. It appears, however, from the returns made by the Coranna commando we have described, that they had still some cattle and goats left them.

After the statements which have been given, it is unnecessary for me to add, that if the missionaries had been allowed to remain at Hephzibah, the circumstances of the people originally composing this missionary institution would have been very different from those in which Mr. Thompson found them, and the condition in which they were in 1825, when I passed through that part of the country. It must be obvious to every reader, from the respect in which the missionaries are

held in every part of this country, that had they had a missionary among them, the Coranna tribe who attacked them would not have dared to have injured them; and it is impossible to reflect upon the power of the farmers in this neighbourhood, and the connexion of this Coranna tribe with the colony, and not feel a conviction that the attack made upon the party then residing on the farm of Vanderwalt would not have happened, had the aggressors not supposed that the neighbouring farmers would be at least indifferent to the fate of the sufferers; and the circumstances which followed afforded too much ground for this supposition. If the farmers in the neighbourhood, and the individuals on whose lands these people were attacked, were not privy to the design of the Corannas, it cannot be concealed that they took no notice of the transaction. Had a single calf been taken from any of the farmers by the same people, restitution would have been instantly demanded, and as instantly made; and though five days had elapsed between the murder and dispersion of the poor Bushmen and that on which the chief and his people met me at Rama, not a single messenger had been sent across the river to inquire of this tribe why they had entered the colony and destroyed a Bushman village on the lands of the colonists*.

The preceding narrative furnishes an additional proof of the respect which missionaries have acquired even among the worst description of people beyond

* As the Corannas are not in the habit of bringing up Bushmen children, and those people had, at this time, numbers of the Bechuanas they had captured in their marauding expeditions, one cannot help inquiring where they expected to find a market for the ten Bushmen children taken and given up to my orders on this occasion.

the limits of the colony, and the advantage the colonial government might derive from encouraging their labours. During the whole of my journey among the tribes I visited beyond the colony, and even when I was among the Bergenaars, I felt as little alarm for my personal safety, as I now feel while I am writing this sentence in my own room. In justice to the characters of our missionaries, before concluding these remarks, I am constrained to notice, that the respect shown me by these tribes in this journey, did not arise from any thing of a personal nature. It is to be traced to the favourable impression the missionaries in the country had previously made upon their minds. I went among these people a perfect stranger. They knew nothing of me, but in connexion with the missionaries; and had I not been preceded by the valuable labours of those excellent men, I should have found as little security from my name among those native tribes, as I should have experienced among the savages farther in the interior of Africa.

The following example may be adduced as an illustration of the manner in which the missionaries have gained the confidence of the natives, and allayed those hostile feelings which in former times rendered travelling among them so dangerous.

When Mr. Sas began his missionary labours among the Corannas, in 1814, they had been engaged from time immemorial in the most rancorous hostilities with the Bushmen.

The Corannas are a pastoral people; they lead a nomadic life; and they are generally found in small parties, particularly between Griqua Town and Namaqualand, on the banks of the Great River. On the

north-east border of the colony, and above the junction of the Cradock and the Yellow river, they are sufficiently numerous and powerful to oppress the Bushmen, and to oblige them to respect their property. The cattle which the tribes on the northern frontier possess, and their weakness, owing to the manner in which they are generally obliged to divide themselves to find pasture for their herds, accounts for the hostilities which have so long existed between them and their more destitute neighbours.

Mr. Sas was some time among the Corannas before he could get them to look at a Bushman without attempting to murder him.

By continued efforts and much persuasion, they were brought so far that they would endure the sight of Bushmen. He now employed one or two Bastaards (for the Corannas had not yet so far conquered their antipathy as to approach the Bushmen) as messengers of peace, to go in quest of Bushmen, and to persuade them to meet the missionary, who had good things to tell them, and who had some good things to give them. A few came; they were so pleased, that they came back, and brought others along with them. For the first time in the remembrance of any living persons, they now ventured to appear as friends in the midst of this Coranna kraal. In the course of a few weeks the news was spread among the Bushmen, and over all the Bushman country between the limits of the colony and the great Orange river.

A party of Bushmen on one occasion met with a flock of strayed sheep; and some weeks after this event they accidentally heard that the sheep belonged to Mr. Sas; they no sooner heard who was the pro-

prietor, than they brought them to our missionary, and expressed the greatest happiness that they had it in their power to show their affection for him in this manner. Several times stray cattle belonging to Mr. Sas have been found and restored by the Bushmen; and our worthy missionary remarked that he could not wish his cattle and his property in greater safety than among the Bushmen.

When our missionaries commenced their labours in South Africa among the tribes beyond the colony, for a considerable time they were viewed by them with suspicion; but these tribes are now able to appreciate their characters and motives; and so far as a disposition to receive missionaries is concerned, we may say, that these fields are white to the harvest. During my journey into the interior, in 1825, the people I met with on every part of the road expressed the greatest solicitude to have missionaries sent to them. On two or three occasions I met with whole tribes who had been waiting for days and weeks upon the road by which they expected me to pass, to ask my advice respecting their affairs, and to request me to send them missionaries. It would be too much to say that all the native tribes in those districts are equally anxious for missionaries, but the feeling is general and widely extended.

One of our missionaries, some years ago, travelled on horseback from Namaqualand to Lattakoo, making excursions among the Bushmen, and among the other tribes, both on the south and north side of the Orange river; and he considered himself as safe, as to any thing he had to dread from men, as he would have been in a journey of so many miles in England. In the midst of his journey he was detained three days by a

wandering tribe of Bechuanas, who had heard of the missionaries, and who would have laid the hair of their heads beneath his feet to have persuaded him to have accompanied them as their teacher. When they had exhausted all their arguments to accomplish their wishes, without effect, the chief had recourse to the following stratagem:—"I know," said he, "your reason for refusing to go with us, you are afraid we will murder you." After repeating the assertion several times, and repeated denials were made on the part of the missionary, the chief remarked that it was in his power to convince him to the contrary; but that he would hold his opinion, till he furnished him with the only proof that would induce him to alter it. "Name your proof," said the missionary, "and if it is in my power it shall be granted." The chief thought he had succeeded, when he told him that the proof which would satisfy him was, that he should accompany him. At their first interview the missionary gave them a few beads, and other things of a trifling nature. In the course of their conversation, when they became painfully pressing in their solicitations for him to go with them as their teacher, the missionary said, "I know the reason you are so earnest for me to go with you, you suppose I shall be able to furnish you with such things as those I gave you when we first met." With this remark they were all much hurt, and brought the things he had given them, and laid them down before him; and in a most feeling and solemn manner declared that the reason he assigned had no weight with them. "Come with us," said they, "and you shall not only have your own, but every thing we have to spare; we will defend you, and be directed by you, and hunt for you."

The difficulties which Dr. Vanderkemp had to encounter from the jealousies of the Caffers, when he attempted to establish a mission among them, are known to every one acquainted with his interesting communications from Cafferland; but the dispositions of the Caffers in relation to that subject have undergone such a change since that period, that missionaries may now be assured that they will be received with open arms in any part of that interesting country. While the following anecdote deserves to be related, on account of the honour which it reflects upon the Caffer character, it may be taken as an illustration of the eagerness of many of the people to enjoy the benefits of Christian instruction for themselves and for their families. On one of my visits to Theopolis, walking through the village in company with Mr. Barker, two very fine boys came up to me, and one of them took hold of my coat, while the other placed himself in my path, and stood before me smiling in my face. I saw they were not Hottentots; and, being struck with their appearance and fine open countenances, I turned to the missionary, and, inquiring of him to whom they belonged, I received the following account of them, and of the circumstances under which they were brought to the missionary institution and placed under his care. Their father is a Caffer chief. At a time when the Caffers were prohibited from entering the colony, he came one evening to Theopolis, and presented himself to Mr. Barker with his two boys. After having apologised for the lateness of the hour at which he had come to the institution, he stated the object of his visit in the following manner:—

"I have long desired to have a missionary at my

kraal; but, after looking anxiously for one for years past, I began to despair of ever enjoying that privilege. The laws of the colony will not permit me to come and live at a missionary institution, else I would forsake my native country, and come and live among you: but, much as I desire to be near a missionary on my own account, my chief concern is now about my children; and, if I cannot have a missionary with me, I shall live and die in peace if you will take these two boys under your care, and see them instructed in your religion, and be a father to them. If you will permit them to remain at Theopolis, and attend your school, they shall not be any trouble to you; I have provided a person in the village with whom they will lodge, and I shall take care, while I live, to defray the expense of their board and clothing."

If any thing is required to add additional interest to this affecting story, it is necessary only to state that the visit of this Caffer chief to Theopolis, at this time, was at the imminent risk of his life; for, had he been observed by any of the military patroles on the frontier, he might have been instantly shot; and that he has amply redeemed the pledge he gave, that he would provide for the support of his boys, as he has been in the habit of regularly sending cattle to the institution for that purpose.

CHAPTER XIX.

Recapitulation.—Intimate connexion between Civilization and Christianity.—First step towards the Civilization of Savages.—Intellect awakened by the contemplation and excitement of great objects.—What have human Philanthropy and Science ever done without Religion to enlighten and elevate Barbarous Nations?—Civilization in its worldly sense only a secondary object in Missionary labours.—Philosophy alone inadequate to reform Mankind.—Effects of Christianity on the Characters of Nations.—Influence of Christian Missions.—Conclusion.

THE illustrations which have been afforded, showing the religious, moral, and political advantages which the missions have conferred on South Africa; the difficulties against which they have had to contend; the favourable dispositions of the natives to receive missionaries; and the means which it is the duty of government to pursue to relieve the natives, and to save them from destruction, supersede the necessity of further protracting the discussion of these subjects. The grievances of the natives under the British government, and of those still beyond the limits of the colony, have been exhibited at some length; and it will be recollected that we have always argued upon this ground,—that justice being done to the one, will prove the most effectual security we can hold out for the preservation of the other. With these or similar reflections, we might have closed the present volume; but we feel something is still due to the cause we are pleading. We have pointed out, in numerous details, what has been

effected by our missions, and we shall be excused by our readers, if, before we take our final leave of the subject, we advert briefly to the principles to which any success, which has attended our labours, is, under the blessing of God, to be traced. In civilized countries, the office of a missionary is simple and well defined. In the discharge of his duty, he has to follow the example of Christ and his apostles, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God; but when the missionary has to reclaim the people, whom he is sent to instruct, from a wandering life, to collect them together into villages, and to elevate them into a state of civilization, in the management of his arduous undertaking, he is left to little more than the fruit of his own observation and experience.

The elevation of a people from a state of barbarism to a high pitch of civilization supposes a revolution in the habits of that people, which it requires much time, and the operation of many causes to effect. By the preaching of the gospel, individuals, as in the case of Africaner, may be suddenly elevated to a surprising height in the scale of improvement, and the influence of such a person, on a savage tribe, must be great; but those on whom the power of divine truth operates in a direct manner, bear but a small proportion to the numbers who are only the subjects of an indirect or reflected influence. On the mass of people who are but slightly affected with divine truth, the missionary must call in every auxiliary to assist him in his work, or he will never have much pleasure in his labours, nor much honour by them.

While the missionary who labours among a savage people has no right to expect much success if he neglects their civilization, it may be safely affirmed, on the

other hand, that such as make the attempt without the doctrines of the Cross, will soon lay it aside in despair, and leave the work to the slow and uncertain operation of natural or ordinary causes. Suddenly to elevate a savage tribe to the comforts of the world in which we live, their minds must be impressed with the reality and importance of the life to come.

The first step towards the civilization of a savage is to rouse the thinking principle. This can only be done by proposing to his mind considerations of sufficient force to overcome his native indolence. These considerations must be addressed to his passions and suited to his capacity. His natural partiality for his own habits and mode of life neutralizes the force of arguments derived from the comparative advantages of civilization. The desire of hoarding, in the savage, is too weak to excite enterprise or industry. Although, when he sees the fruits of civilization and industry, he may desire to possess them, he would much rather sleep in his sheep-skin caross, and depend upon the precarious subsistence of the chase, than submit to the labour of cultivating the ground, or of providing other clothing. After the Moravian Brethren had been above twenty years, in Greenland, many of the unconverted savages came, in a season of scarcity, to the institution, and were relieved from starving. While they had nothing, and saw the converted Greenlanders in possession of abundance, they acknowledged the superiority of their condition, and wished themselves in possession of their comforts; but, as soon as the famine was over, and they had a prospect of obtaining food, they returned to their former wretchedness.

The speculations of science, and the pursuits of life,

rature, are above the comprehension of the untutored savage, and religion is the only instrument that is left that can reach his case, and that is capable of producing a great and permanent change.

The difference, says one, between the philosopher and the peasant is not so much in the constitution of their minds, as in the objects they are accustomed to contemplate. Great objects are to the mind, what the sun-beams are to the flowers; they paint the colours and ripen the fruit. What objects so great as those that are presented to the mind in divine revelation? When a peasant feels the powers of the world to come, he becomes a thinking being; the inquiry, What shall I do to be saved? is connected with a great many collateral inquiries.—How is this salvation discovered? How does it consist with the honour of God and the principles of reason? How am I to know when it is possessed? What is its nature? What are its effects? and what are the duties which its possessors owe to God, to themselves, and to their fellow creatures?

To obtain satisfactory answers to these inquiries, recourse must be had to intelligent society and to books. While the mind is exercised upon these subjects, a habit of thinking is acquired; the thinking principle once in motion cannot be confined to one track, and its excursions in quest of general and useful knowledge will be made in every direction, nor will these excursions be made in vain.

If religion be necessary to awaken the attention, rouse the thinking principle, and conduct the process of civilization to that point where it may be left to the influence of other causes to conduct it to a successful issue; it is no less necessary to supply the resources,

form the combinations, and call forth the instruments required in this work of benevolence. The miseries incident to a state of savage life—the injuries which tribes in a state of nature are in the habit of receiving from their contiguity to civilized states—the wanton manner in which the rights of human nature have been trampled on in reducing and keeping a large portion of them in slavery, have all been the subjects of eloquent declamation; but it is to Christian charity alone we are to trace any attempts to elevate them in the scale of being, break asunder their chains, lessen their miseries, and multiply their comforts.

The charity that is confined to the body may supply the wants that come under our observation; but its missionaries have never been heard in the heathen world; its wishes, were they called into exertion, would prove ineffectual, while civilization and social order never fail to grace the train of genuine religion. What funds have ever been collected—what societies formed?—what missionaries sent forth to promote the civilization of savage tribes, which have not sprung from the spirit of Christian missions?

For the romantic generosity which influenced the fathers of the Moravian missions to propose to sell themselves as slaves, that they might have the opportunity of instructing the slaves in our West India Islands, in the mysteries of the kingdom of God; for the apostolic zeal which triumphed over the rigours and horrors of a polar sky; for that spirit of martyrdom which sustained the missionaries of the South Sea Islands amid dangers and death, till their labours were crowned with the subversion of idolatry, and the universal establishment of the Christian faith; for that

annihilation of self, and that divine benevolence which fired the breast of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and which is necessary to all who would attempt the civilization of savages by residing among them; we look in vain to the spirit of the world, the unaided sympathies of the human heart, the genius of modern literature, or to any agencies short of the powers of the world to come.

We feel no disposition to conceal, that it is the incalculable worth of the human soul, which gives to missionary labours their greatest importance, and surrounds them with all the grandeurs of eternity. It is Christianity, as suited to man as a sinner, as fitted to supply the wants of man as an immortal creature, as viewed in its relation to the invisible world, and as it brings life and immortality to light, and triumphs over death and the grave, that raises all the slumbering energies of the human mind, that kindles the zeal of the missionary, and that elevates the savage in the scale of being. It is to this principle that we are to trace the philanthropy, the energy, and wisdom, which have given rise to Bible and Missionary Societies; it is to this principle we are indebted for the zeal, which induces missionaries to forsake their native shores, and submit to all the privations which must be endured in their attempts "to plant the germ of civilization on the icy hills of Greenland; sow the seed of social virtue on the sultry plains of Africa; or impart the charter of evangelical liberty to such as are in a state of slavery*."

It is this principle, which has raised up our missionary institutions, like so many oases amidst the vast

* Thornton's Essay on the best means of promoting the Spread of Divine Truth, &c.

wastes with which they are still surrounded; and were this spirit extinguished, ignorance and barbarism would speedily resume their wonted empire.

My feelings and sentiments on this subject fully accord with the sentiments of Dr. Chalmers, in the following passage:—"It is very well in its place to urge the civilizing influence of a missionary society. But this is not the main object of such an institution. It is not the end; it is only the accompaniment. It is a never-failing collateral, and may be used as a lawful instrument in fighting the battles of the missionary cause. It is right enough to contest it with our enemies at every one point of advantage; and for this purpose to descend, if necessary, to the very ground on which they have posted themselves. But when so engaged, let us never forget the main elements of our business; for there is a danger that, when turning the eye of our antagonists to the lovely picture of peace, and industry, and cultivation, raised by many a Christian missionary among the wilds of heathenism, we turn it away from the very marrow and substance of our undertaking, the great aim of which is to preach Christ to sinners, and to rear human souls to a beauteous and never-fading immortality."

It is not by using religion as an expedient to promote the temporal interests of man, that we gain even that object; but it is by using her as the means of promoting the elevation of the soul, and its conformity to God; it is by keeping in view the life to come, that we render her subservient to the highest interests, and the most valuable purposes of the life that now is. Break off the connexion between Christianity and a world to come, and you annihilate its energy, and extinguish its

vivifying principles. The ascendency religion gains over the mind is through the medium of our belief; and all its influence is lost the moment it ceases to be recognized by us as the offspring of heaven.

If we speak, therefore, of the advantages she confers on the present state, we do not speak of those advantages as her ultimate aim, but as the blessings which attend and mark her progress during her earthly pilgrimage. We give them as the fruits she yields in this ungenial climate, and as the indications of her vigour, and her identity with the doctrines and precepts taught by Jesus Christ and his apostles, which banish vice, idleness, and barbarism, and come to us accompanied with all the lovely train of the virtues.

"Religious institutions are the channels, if I may use the expression," says an eloquent writer, "by which the ideas of order, of duty, of humanity, and of justice, flow through the different ranks of the community." The advantages of natural science must ever be confined to a few; the science of religion may be accessible to all; and its influence over individuals, and over the body of the people will, generally speaking, be proportioned to the degree of scriptural simplicity with which it is exhibited, its influence over those who are its professed teachers, and the purity of the mediums through which it is conveyed.

The writers of the present age, who recommend to us to civilize barbarous and savage nations, before we teach them religion, forget that there is not a single example on the records of history of any philosopher or legislator having civilized a nation or tribe without the aids of religion.

The laws of Minos, of Zaleucus, of the Twelve

Tables, were founded upon the dread of superior beings. Cicero, in his treatise "De Legibus," considers a providence as the basis of all legislation. Plato refers to a Deity in every page of his works. Numa made Rome a sacred city, that he might render it eternal. "It was not fraud, it was not superstition," says a great man, "which established religion among the Romans; it was that necessity which renders religion indispensable to the existence of society." "The yoke of religion," continues he, "was the only one which the Roman people, in their ardour for liberty, dared not to shake off; and that people which was so easily agitated, had need of being controlled by an invisible power."

Civilization, social order, and the charities which sweeten life, are among the subsidiary advantages which spring from the diffusion of genuine religion; but these advantages are enjoyed by men in general, without bestowing a single reflection on the source whence they proceed.

"The misfortune is, that men, after they are refined and have begun to enjoy the advantages that spring from their improvement, refuse to acknowledge the true causes to which they are indebted for them; as in a tree, the numerous branches and thick foliage conceal the trunk, and discover to us only smiling flowers and abundant fruit." It is pleasant to see an increase of the light of science, the approximation of public opinion to the standard of equity, and those changes that are operating in favour of the rights and liberties of mankind; but, with all the advantages we enjoy in the age in which we live, that millennium in which the wishes of benevolence are to be realized, will ever

recede from our embraces, unless preceded, accompanied, and followed by the diffusion of divine truth. Philosophy alone, with all her lofty pretensions, is inadequate to the task of regenerating and preserving the morals of society.

Philosophers, in all ages, have felt this truth; and this consciousness of the impotence of their principles has kept them from making the attempt. Hence the ancient philosophers considered their opinions as above the reach of the vulgar; congratulated themselves on their own superior discernment; confined their opinions and instruction to the favoured illuminati; looked down with contempt on the great body of the people, and abandoned them to their native ignorance and superstition. While Europe was learning of Egypt, and looking to it as the most enlightened country in the world, the nation so elevated by its science was sunk in the most vile and degrading superstition, worshipping, as gods, the meanest of quadrupeds, the vilest of reptiles, and the commonest roots that grew in their gardens. While Demosthenes harangued, Socrates taught, and Plato and Aristotle philosophised at Athens, that city was wholly given to idolatry, and all Greece was descending from its high elevation, and acquiring habits inconsistent with liberty and independence. When Cato, Seneca, Cicero, Virgil, and Horace flourished in Rome, the deities of the Romans were multiplied to thirty thousand, and the vices of the body of the people were such as, in many instances, will not bear to have the names by which they were designated explained and translated into our language.

The aggregate of virtue or vice, happiness or misery, in a nation, is not to be estimated by the habits, senti-

ments, and pursuits of a few literary or scientific men, but by the features distinguishable in the great mass of society. The standard of the national character must be regulated by the condition of that mass. Nature never designed that the great body of men, in any nation, should be philosophers; and if they are not brought under the influence of pure Christianity, they must be left to fall under the influence of superstition or infidelity.

Philosophy had nearly four thousand years before the coming of Christ, to try her energy; and what did she do for mankind? What savage tribes did she civilize? What systems of idolatry did she overthrow? What vice did she extirpate? What virtues did she generate? What sources of misery did she dry up? and what fountains of happiness and salvation did she open to a perishing and miserable world? Till the sun of righteousness arose with healing under his wings, the ignorance and wretchedness of the nations remained; and could his healing and saving beams be extinguished or eclipsed, notwithstanding the lights of science, the civilized world might soon be again immersed in the darkness of ignorance and barbarism.

The talents of an individual may be cultivated; men of genius may arise in different countries; arts and sciences may flourish among the privileged classes of society; the blossoms of literature may be as profusely spread abroad as the flowers that cover an African desert *; and politicians may exhibit their ingenuity in constructing new governments and in mending old

* Some of the most sandy and desert parts of Africa are covered with the greatest variety of flowers.

ones; but, in spite of these advantages and efforts, if the mass of society is left without regenerating principles, governments themselves, with all their agents and accompaniments, will be tossed about by its mighty movements, like the rudderless bark on the surface of a tempestuous ocean. The efforts of the philosopher will be vain, if, in his speculations for the amelioration of the human race, he overlooks the degeneracy of man and the culture of the heart. It has been remarked by a celebrated modern writer, that many of the ancient philosophers, observing the impatience of men under the restraints of civil government, the tendency of their minds to disorder and corruption, and the difficulties attending every attempt to establish among them institutions favourable to the improvement of the species, voluntarily abandoned to inferior hands the reins and cares of the state, in order to correct the evils they observed at their source, and to fit men for civil liberty by their moral instructions. The attempt was noble, and the principle on which they acted deserves our admiration; but to them "futurity was not unveiled; their morality was without the sanction of a divine law;" they wanted the means we possess,—the word of God, the only instrument adequate to the regeneration of the world*.

* The want of success of which the ancient philosophers complained in their attempts to correct the prejudices and elevate the minds of the common people, may perhaps account for the conduct of Socrates in his dying moments, and for the conformity which many of them recommend to the established systems of religion in their respective countries. Perceiving that their ethical discourses had so little effect upon the vulgar, they judged it better for the public good, that they should be under the influence of a superstition which they despised in their hearts, than that they should be entirely without religious restraints. There was nothing good,

What philosophy abandoned in despair has been effected by the preaching of the Cross. The doctrine which was to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness, gradually undermined and overthrew the whole of that superstructure of superstition, fable, and priestcraft which was the opprobrium of philosophy; and it is still mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds*.

To what is England indebted for the high place she occupies in the scale of nations? Ask the natural philosopher this question, and he will reply, to the diffusion of science. Ask the man of literature this question, and he will ascribe it to our attainments in literature. Ask the statesman this question, and he will trace it to the genius of our laws and constitution. Ask the advocate for civil liberty the same question, and he will resolve all our advantages into our civil liberties†. We are greatly indebted as a nation to our science, to our literature, to our laws;—and to our civil liberties we

amidst the rubbish of paganism which was not inculcated by the philosophers; but so different is the effect upon the human mind, between that which we regard as human only, and that which comes to us apparently clothed with a divine sanction, that the Greeks and Romans, who were respected and feared while they venerated the obligations of an oath made at their altars, became dissolute and despicable when they had become so much philosophists as to laugh at sacred things. The French revolution was an experiment which may be appealed to as an illustration of the same fact.

* What had philosophy and commerce done for India? for South Africa? and for the South Sea islands, before these places were visited by our missionaries?

† This reminds us of the reply made by the Indian, who, on being asked on what the world rested, answered, "on the back of a tortoise;" but who, on being questioned on what the tortoise rested, was silent.

are indebted for much of our science, our literature, and for all that is valuable in our constitution. But it ought never to be forgotten that those liberties were gained for us in the same field in which the martyr obtained his crown.

"The prodigious superiority," observes a philosophical and eloquent writer*, "which Europe possesses over Asia and Africa, is chiefly to be ascribed to this cause. It is the possession of a religion which comprehends the seeds of endless improvement; which maintains an incessant struggle with whatever is barbarous, selfish, or inhuman; which, by unveiling futurity, clothes morality with the sanction of a divine law, and harmonizes utility and virtue in every combination of events, and every stage of existence; a religion which, by affording the most just and sublime conceptions of the Deity, and of the moral relations of man, has given birth at once to the loftiest speculations and the most child-like humility, uniting the inhabitants of the globe into one family, and the bonds of a common salvation. It is thus religion, rising upon us like a finer sun, has quickened moral vegetation, and replenished Europe with talents, virtues, and exploits, which, in spite of physical disadvantages, has rendered it a paradise, the delight and the wonder of the world."

"We ought not to be discouraged," says that profound thinker Bishop Butler†, "in this good work, though its future success were less clearly foretold, and though its effects have, in reforming mankind, appeared

* The Rev. Robert Hall.

† See Sermon preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1738.

to be as little as our adversaries pretend. They, indeed, and some others, seem to require more than either experience or Scripture give ground to hope for in the present course of the world. The bare establishment of Christianity in any place, even the external form and profession of it, is a very important and valuable effect. It is a serious call to men to attend to the natural and revealed doctrines of religion. It is a standing publication of the gospel, and renders it a witness to them; and, by this means, the purposes of Providence are carrying on with regard to remote ages as well as to the present. 'Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days.' 'In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand; for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they shall both be alike good.' We can look but a very little way into the consequences of things; our duty is to spread the incorruptible seed as widely as we can, and leave it to God to give the increase. Yet this much we may be almost assured of, that the gospel, wherever it is planted, will have its genuine effects upon some few; upon more, perhaps, than are taken notice of in the hurry of the world. There are, in every country where this gospel is preached, a few persons who come under the description of those of whom our Lord speaks in the parable of the sower, 'as understanding the word, and bearing fruit, and bringing forth some an hundred fold, some sixty, some thirty.' One might add, that those persons, in proportion to their influence, do at present better the state of things;—better it even in the civil sense, by giving some check to that avowed profligateness which is a contradiction to all order and

government, and, if not checked, must be the subversion of it."

To such as think that nothing is doing by the missions, unless they are continually hearing of miraculous conversions, I must be allowed to hazard a remark, for the accuracy of which I can vouch, as far as my own observation extends, that the number of conversions which come under the notice of missionaries do not bear a greater proportion to the general good done by the missions, than the conversions and triumphant deaths recorded in our monthly publications in England do to the entire sum of good done in our native country, by the preaching of the gospel and the institutions of Christianity. While the missionaries are complaining that they have so very few striking instances of the power of divine grace to record in their communications to their respective societies, let it be remembered that their influence is much more extensive, and the change carrying on by them much greater, than they themselves are able to imagine. In those countries where our missions have gained a marked ascendency there is scarcely one spot, however much secluded, impervious to their all-pervading light and heat. Where perhaps they are grossly misrepresented and spoken against, they are checking the grinding power of oppression, raising the standard of morals, proclaiming liberty to the captives, opening the prison doors to those that are bound, diffusing abroad the lights of science and literature, undermining the false systems of religion against which they have to contend, multiplying those charitable institutions that have for their object the relief of suffering humanity, vanquishing infidelity by the most direct and powerful of all arguments, by living exhibitions of

the truth of Christianity, and changing the very face of our colonies; while they are accelerating the approach of that moral revolution which will shortly usher in the kingdoms of this world as the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Stuurman's Kraal.—(Vide vol. i., p. 110.)

THE following account of the fate of David Stuurman and his followers, is extracted from an article in the New Monthly Magazine, for January, 1828, from the pen of my friend Mr. Pringle, who has also embodied the same affecting story in the notes appended to his poems written in South Africa. Mr. Pringle mentions that he obtained the details from a gentleman in the Cape colony, who knew the circumstances well, and had himself been a personal witness of many of them:—

"On the death of Klaas Stuurman, who was killed in hunting the buffalo, his brother David, who had been his faithful associate in peace and war, succeeded him, by the unanimous suffrages of the little community at Kleine Rivier, as their chief or protector.

"The existence of this independent kraal gave, however, great offence to the neighbouring boors,—the more especially as the two Stuurmans and their followers had particularly distinguished themselves in fighting against the 'Christians' during the late disturbances. The policy of the Batavian government, in protecting them in independence, was much blamed; and Stuurman and his people, though conducting themselves inoffensively, were jealously watched, and every possible occasion embraced of preferring complaints against them; with the view of getting them rooted out, and reduced to the same state of servitude as the rest of their nation had been now universally subjected to. For several years no suitable opportunity presented itself to obtain the accomplishment of this purpose; but with such feelings of mutual enmity and suspicion, occasions of offence could not fail to occur; and, at length, in 1810, when the colony was once more under the government of England, this Hottentot captain and his associates became outlaws in the following manner:

"Two individuals, belonging to this village, or kraal, had engaged themselves, for a certain period, in the service of a neighbouring boor; who, when the term of their agreement had expired, refused them permission to depart—a practice at that time very general, as at this day it still continues to be. The Hottentots, upon this, went off without permission, and returned to their own village. The boor followed them thither, and demanded them back: but

their chief, Stuurman, refused to surrender them. Next day the Veld-cornet, a petty local functionary, came with a party of armed boors to take them by force. Stuurman, on the approach of this band, drew up his men, and called out to the veld-cornet to beware —for, if he attempted to enter his kraal in arms, he would fire upon him. On this the boors laid down their guns, and tried to cajole him, by fair words, to yield the point. Stuurman, however, was staunch to his friends, and refused. A report of his contumacious conduct was, therefore, made to the landdrost; and that formidable functionary issued an imperative order for the Hottentot chief to appear instantly before him, to answer for his audacity. Stuurman was so infatuated as to delay compliance; and, in consequence of this, his arrest, and the destruction of his kraal were forthwith determined on. But as he was well known to be a resolute man, and much beloved by his countrymen, who regarded him as a sort of champion, it was considered too hazardous to attempt his seizure by open force, and the following stratagem was fallen upon to accomplish this purpose.

"A boor named Cornelius Routenbach, a heemraad (or petty justice) of the Uitenhage district, had by some means or other gained Stuurman's confidence and friendship; and this man was employed to entrap him. On a certain day, accordingly, he sent an express to his friend Stuurman, stating that the Caffers had carried off a number of his cattle, and requesting him to hasten over with the most trusty of his followers to aid him in pursuit of the robbers. The Hottentot chief and his party instantly equipped themselves and set out. When they reached Routenbach's residence, Stuurman was welcomed with every demonstration of cordiality, and with four of his principal followers was invited into the house. On a signal given, the door was shut, and at the same moment the Landdrost (Major Cuyler), the Veld-commandant Stolz, and a crowd of boors, rushed out upon them from an inner apartment, and made them all prisoners. The rest of the Hottentot party, who had remained outside, perceiving how their captain and comrades had been betrayed, immediately dispersed themselves. The majority, returning to their kraal, were, together with their families, distributed by the landdrost as serfs to the neighbouring boors. Some fled into Caffer-land; and a very few were, at the earnest entreaty of Dr. Vanderkemp, permitted to join the missionary institution at Bethelsdorp! The chief and those seized along with him were sent off prisoners to Cape Town, where, after undergoing some sort of trial before the court of justice, upon the evidence furnished by their mortal enemies, they were condemned to work in irons for life, and sent to Robben Island to be confined among the other convicts.

"Stuurman's kraal thus effectually broken up, the Landdrost Cuyler asked and obtained, as a private grant for himself, the grounds the Hottentots had occupied. This magistrate likewise obtained

possession of the cattle belonging to Stuurman and some of his people—upon what terms is not precisely known; but he alleged (and I question not the fact) that 'due compensation' was made to the prisoners. Moreover, this functionary took into his own service (from the most laudable motives, as he alleged, though without either legal contract or regular wages) the children of the two Stuurmans; and in his service some of them still remained in 1826. David's son was confined in prison for some time, without being accused of any crime, after his father had made his escape from confinement—merely with the *benevolent* view of preventing the youth from taking refuge with his outlawed father in Cafferland.

"Stuurman and his comrades, after remaining for some years prisoners in Robben Island, contrived to make their escape, and three of them (the chief and two others) succeeded in effecting their retreat through the whole extent of the colony into Cafferland, a distance of seven hundred miles. Impatient, however, to return to his family, Stuurman, in the year 1816, sent out a message to a missionary, from whom he had formerly experienced kindness, intreating him to endeavour to procure permission for him to return in peace. This missionary, as he himself informed me, made application in his behalf to the Landdrost Cuyler—but without avail: that magistrate recommended 'that Stuurman should remain where he was.' Three years afterwards, however, the unhappy exile ventured to return into the colony without permission. But he was not long in being discovered and apprehended by his old persecutors, and was once more sent a prisoner to Cape Town. Here he was kept in close confinement till the year 1823, when he was finally transported as a convict to New South Wales.

"Such was the treatment and the fate of the last Hottentot chief who attempted to stand up for the natural rights of his countrymen."

No. II.

Colonial Proclamation of 1809.—(Vide vol. i. p. 142.)

PROCLAMATION.

By His Excellency, Dupre Earl of Caledon, Viscount Alexander, and Baron Caledon of Caledon, in that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Ireland, and one of the Representative Peers of that Kingdom, Governor and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Castle, Town, and Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and Ordinary and Vice Admiral of the same.

WHEREAS it appears, that the provisions made from time to time, for securing the fulfilling of contracts of hire between the inhabit-

ants of this colony and Hottentots, are not sufficient for the intended purpose; and, whereas, for the benefit of this colony at large, it is necessary that not only the individuals of the Hottentot nation, in the same manner as the other inhabitants, should be subject to proper regularity in regard to their places of abode and occupations, but also, that they should find an encouragement for preferring entering the service of the inhabitants, to leading an indolent life, by which they are rendered useless both for themselves and the community at large—

I therefore have thought proper to establish and ordain, and by these presents do establish and ordain:

1. That all and every Hottentot in the different districts of this colony, in the same manner as all inhabitants, shall have a fixed place of abode in some one of the districts, and that an entry of the same shall be made in the office of the fiscal, or the respective landdrosts, and that they shall not be allowed to change their place of abode from one district to another, without a certificate from the fiscal or landdrost of the district from which they remove; which certificate they shall be bound to exhibit to the fiscal or landdrost of the district where they intend to settle, for the purpose of being entered in their office; while every Hottentot, neglecting this order, shall be considered as a vagabond and treated accordingly.

2. That every inhabitant who engages a Hottentot in his service for the space of a month, or any longer period, shall be bound with the same to make his appearance before the fiscal, or the land drost, or the field-cornet of his district, and there enter into, and sign, *in triplo*, a proper written contract, containing,

a) The name of the person who takes into service.
b) The name of the person who enters into service.
c) The terms of the contract.
d) The amount of the wages.
e) The time of payment. And
f) Such further conditions as the persons contracting shall agree upon.

Of which contract, after having been duly signed *in triplo*, each of the parties shall be furnished with one counterpart, and the third counterpart is to remain in the office of the fiscal, landdrost, or field-cornet; while, for the sake of facilitating the execution of this measure as much as possible, the fiscal and respective landdrosts shall, upon applying for the same, be furnished, on the part of government, *gratis*, with the necessary printed copies for their own offices, and those of the field-cornets under them.

This being neglected, no contract of hire against a Hottentot shall stand good; and in a case where it is proved that the Hottentot was ignorant of these present regulations, upon the existence of a hire contract being satisfactorily proved, the engagement shall stand good in favour of the Hottentot, who shall be entitled to all

the advantages secured by this proclamation, to Hottentots entering into contracts before the fiscal, landdrost, or field-cornet.

3. In such cases, where a Hottentot entering any service, with the consent of the person whose service he engages in includes his wife and children, or any of them, in the contract, the same shall be supplied by such person whose service the said Hottentot enters, with the necessaries of life, (lodging included,) in the same manner as the person who made the contract, provided they have not made a personal engagement for themselves; as in this case a separate agreement must be made with them, and duly signed.

4. That, the agreement expiring on the last day of the time stipulated in the contract, the servant shall not be obliged to continue his services any longer, but be at liberty, with his wife and children, (if they are with him,) and with all his cattle and other property of whatever nature it may be, to leave the master and enter another service, or act in any other manner the laws of this colony admit of, without being hindered by the master or any one on his part, on pain of forfeiting one hundred rds., to be divided in three shares, one-third for the treasury of the district, one-third for the magistrate who prosecutes, and the remaining third for the Hottentot thus molested.

5. The master shall be obliged to pay the wages agreed for, strictly on the periods mentioned in the agreement; and that, in case of neglect, upon the Hottentot's lodging a complaint, the case shall be tried by a committee of the court of justice, in the presence of the fiscal, if in the district of the town, and by the board of the respective landdrosts and heemraden, if in one of the country districts, which board, upon a summary investigation, shall administer justice; and, in case the complaint is well founded, the master not only shall be obliged to pay the servant his wages, but shall, over and above, forfeit all claim to the further fulfilment of the contract; as likewise all claim on account of such necessaries as he may have provided.

6. That before the said committee of the court of justice, and the board of landdrost and heemraden, in the same manner shall be tried all cases in which a Hottentot lodges a complaint against his master for ill-treatment, when, if upon a summary investigation the fact be found true, the Hottentot shall be discharged from his service, and the master be fined in a fine not exceeding fifty rds., and not less than ten rds., according to the nature of the ill-treatment; and the Hottentot, if found to have urged his complaint wantonly or malignantly, shall receive such correction as the nature of the case shall require.

(This article is not to extend to ill-treatment, accompanied by mutilation or injury done to any part or limb of the body, by which the complainant may be deprived of the use thereof for some time, or for ever; but in these cases the fiscal or the landdrost shall prosecute according to the common law in use in this colony.)

7. That in case the Hottentot, at his own request, shall have been supplied by the master during the term of contract with clothing or other necessaries, in deduction of the amount of his wages, the nature and value of such supplies shall, at the time of supply, be stated to the ward-master or field-cornet, who, upon the Hottentot's affirming the same, shall make a memorandum thereof, in order to be had recourse to in case of any dispute about the payment of the wages; but, in case of the supplies not being stated at the time and registered in this way, no allowance for the same shall be made. This same rule is to be observed when any claim arises between a master and Hottentot on any other account, during the term of the contract, by which the Hottentot becomes the debtor of the master.

8. That no wine, brandy, or other spirituous liquors, shall be considered as necessaries of life; and, consequently, no allowance shall be made for the supply thereof to a Hottentot by his master during the period of his employment.

9. That in case it is found at the expiration of the term of contract, that the Hottentot has been supplied with more than what the amount of the wages he agreed for comes to, the master shall not have any claim, on that account, on the Hottentot's or his family's further services, but shall, notwithstanding, be obliged to let him or them depart, without any ways detaining him or them, and to prosecute the Hottentot before a committee of the court of justice, in the presence of the fiscal, or the board of the respective landdrosts and heemraden, who, upon finding the claim to be founded, shall condemn the Hottentot to the payment thereof, leaving to the plaintiff to carry his condemnation into effect, *ordinario modo*.

10. That the master shall, in no case, be allowed to detain, or prevent from departing, the wife or children of any Hottentot that has been in his service, after the expiration of the term of contract of their husband or father, under pretence of a security, for what he may be indebted to him; not even if he had any claim on the wife or children themselves, for money or any other advances; but shall be obliged to have recourse to the mode of proceeding prescribed in the last preceding article, and not be allowed by his own authority to attempt the repayment of himself, by the personal services of these natives.

11. That likewise in case of the Hottentot's dying, through which the effect of his personal contract of hire ceases, the wife and children shall be at liberty to depart, (if not personally engaged,) and to take with them all their property of whatever nature it may be; and all disputes arising on this head shall come under the summary cognizance and decision of the said committees of the court of justice or the heemraden.

12. That the whole of the property which a Hottentot may leave behind on his decease, shall be given up by the master of those,

who, according to the laws and customs of this colony, shall be entitled to the same.

13. That the Hottentots engaged in the manner prescribed in the 2d article, shall be bound diligently and honestly to serve their masters during the period of their contract, and to behave with proper submission; on penalty, that in case any founded complaints about their non-complying with their contract be lodged against them, to the fiscal or respective landdrosts, they shall, by order of the same, be subjected to domestic correction; or if their misconduct deserves a severer punishment, they shall, upon a summary investigation of the case, by a committee of the court of justice or heemraden, be punished with confiscation of the wages due to them, or part of the same, or a temporary confinement, or a more severe domestic corporal punishment, according to the exigency of the case, independent of their being bound to serve out their full time according to agreement.

14. That this however shall not extend to cases where any public criminal offence has been committed by the Hottentots, who are in such cases to be prosecuted by the fiscal or landdrost of the district, in the usual manner.

15. That no Hottentot shall be taken into service without being provided with a certificate, either of his master or the fiscal, landdrost or field-cornet, under whose district he did serve, containing a declaration, that he has duly served out his time, or, in case he has not served out his time, that he left the service of his former master, with proper consent, or upon due authority; while the Hottentots that have been in the military service, must be provided with a legal discharge, before any one whosoever shall be allowed to take them into his service; and any one taking into his service a Hottentot not provided with such certificate or discharge, shall forfeit one hundred rds., one-third for the informer, one-third for the public treasury, and one-third for the magistrate who carries on the prosecution.

16. Lastly, the Hottentots going about the country, either on the service of their masters, or on other lawful business, must be provided with a pass, either of their commanding officer, if in the military service, or the master under whom they serve; or the magistrate of the district, on the penalty of being considered and treated as vagabonds; and, moreover, the tenor of the proclamation of the 17th October, 1797, respecting soldiers, sailors, servants, &c., as well as military deserters, is to be strictly attended to, in regard to Hottentots going about the country; so that every one is to ask a pass from any Hottentot that happens to come to his place, and in case of his not being provided with it, to deliver him up to the field-cornet, landdrost, or fiscal, in order to act as, after due inquiry, they shall feel incumbent to do.

And in order to give the fullest publicity to this my intention

and command, besides the usual means of making the same known, I do hereby direct each and every wardmaster of this town, to appoint and assemble one Hottentot from every house in the respective wards, and each field-cornet in the several country divisions, one Hottentot from each house in such division, as early as possible after their receipt of this proclamation, and to explain or cause to be explained to such Hottentots so assembled, the full meaning thereof; and I do further direct the wardmasters and field-cornets aforesaid, to report to his Majesty's fiscal, and to their respective landdrosts, their having complied with this instruction, as they shall answer the contrary at their peril.

Given under my hand and seal, at the Cape of Good Hope, this 1st day of November, 1809.

(Signed) CALEDON.

By his Excellency's command,

(Signed) H. ALEXANDER, Sec.

No. III.

Colonial Proclamation of 1812.—(Vide vol. i., p. 175.)

PROCLAMATION.

By his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir J. F. Cradock, K.C.B., G.C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Castle, Town, and Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, &c. &c. &c.

WHEREAS, by the Proclamation dated 1st November, 1809, the necessity of subjecting individuals of the Hottentot nation in the same manner as other inhabitants of this settlement, to proper regularity in regard to their places of abode or occupation, was strongly recommended and pointed out; and, although the most beneficial effects have followed the enforcement of the regulations and provisions of the proclamation alluded to, yet it has appeared, from further experience, that some additions and modifications to the aforesaid regulations are still wanting; be it therefore now directed, and it is hereby ordered,

1st. That together with the annual opgaaf, the several boards of landdrosts and heemraden shall, in future, transmit to the Colonial Secretary's Office for my information, a return of all Hottentot institutions, kraals, and detached dwellings within their several jurisdictions, specifying the situation of such residences, the number of families dwelling at each place, and the number of individuals in each family, divided into male and female, and describing each, whether under or above the age of sixteen years, and also the number of births and deaths of Hottentots which have taken place within the twelve months. In this return, not only

Hottentots are to be included, but all bastard Hottentots and free blacks, with the description of their families, as in the case of Hottentots aforesaid.

2d. With regard to such Hottentots as are born in the service of farmers or other inhabitants, it shall be imperative on such farmer or inhabitant, to give the earliest notice of such birth to the field-cornet of his division, specifying whether the child be male or female, under a penalty of fifty rix-dollars, for every instance of neglect thereof.

3rd. The field-cornets are to keep regular lists of such births, and to transmit them to the landdrost quarterly.

4th. When such children as are born in the service of the farmers or inhabitants, have attained the age of eight years, and have been maintained by such farmers or inhabitants during that period, the landdrost of the district shall apprentice such Hottentots, male or female, to the farmer or inhabitant by whom they have been so maintained, in case he be willing to receive such apprentice, for ten years, provided that the person to whom the Hottentot is to be bound, is a person of humanity, and one upon whom strict reliance for the good treatment of the apprentice may be placed; and in case the person who has maintained the Hottentot for the period of eight years aforesaid, shall not be willing to take such Hottentot as an apprentice for the term of ten years, or that the person in question be not such upon whose humanity or circumstances the landdrost can place reliance for the good treatment of the Hottentot to be apprenticed, then the landdrost is hereby authorized to bind such Hottentot unto such other humane person within his district, as he shall think fit for the period aforesaid.

5th. The aforesaid regulation is so far to have a retrospective view, that the landdrost is authorized to apprentice any young Hottentot who may have been antecedently born while the parent was in the service of, or residing with, any farmer or inhabitant, and maintained by such when they have arrived at the age of eight years, in the manner pointed out.

6th. The deeds of apprenticeship (a form whereof will be transmitted to the respective landdrosts) are to be made in duplicate, and to be signed by the landdrost and the party to whom the apprentice is bound; one deed whereof is to remain in the records of the drosdy, in charge of the secretary, and one to be delivered to the master of the apprentice.

7th. The respective landdrosts are hereby ordered to keep an exact register of all Hottentots, male and female, apprenticed according to the above detailed regulations, and to transmit the same, together with the return of Hottentots pointed out in the first Article of the proclamation, for my information.

8th. And that the fullest publicity may be given to this my intention and command, I do hereby direct that, besides the usual

mode of making known the same, each field-cornet be furnished with an authorized copy of the proclamation.

Given under my hand and seal, at the Cape of Good Hope, this 23d day of April, 1812.

(Signed) J. F. CRADOCK.

Cape of Good Hope, 23d April, 1812.

By his Excellency's command.

No. IV.

Sir John Cradock's Letter to the Rev. John Campbell.—(Vide vol. i. p. 190.)

Government House, Cape Town, Feb. 10th, 1814.

REV. SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge your address of the 21st January, and have to express my sincere regret upon your departure from the colony, before the several points contained in it can be brought, with due deliberation, to a conclusion.

I trust that justice will be done to me by the respected society to which you belong; that it has been the uniform endeavour of my administration of this government, to give the greatest practicable support in my power to the sacred efforts of your institution; and I will yield to no person whatever in the most anxious wishes to propagate the blessings of Christianity, upon the true and assured grounds of "native industry, and avowed utility," in the community at large. Whenever this fails, it becomes the duty of a government to pause and gain assurance, that a more rational order of things will in future be established.

I incline, myself, to think, that a proper spirit is now awakened upon the subject; and it may be hoped, that the emulation hereafter, will be on the part of the societies to display their industry and useful intercourse; and, on the part of the government, in return for the benefits thus produced, an ardent solicitude to protect and encourage them in their holy and their useful labours. This must be the bond between us; and if not fulfilled, as ought to be the case in the first instance, by the head of these societies, the government cannot but feel absolved from the performance of all conditions on their side.

You are well aware, that the disinclination to increase, or even maintain the institutions already established in this colony, is almost universal; and that the general alarm and outcry is, that if they are permitted to enlarge or disseminate, the most fatal injury will ensue to the agriculture and sustenance of the community. All this must be admitted by every reasonable man: if idleness is allowed to pre-

vail, or if the labours in the field, at the proper season of the year, are not cheerfully accorded to all the surrounding farmers, to ensure industry in general, and more extensive usefulness, it would seem very injudicious to allot any considerable portion of land to these institutions, that would render them independent of connection with their neighbours, and allow them to look upon all around them with indifference. A certain portion of ground is necessary for the support of the more aged and infirm, and the due maintenance and respectability of the establishment; but, beyond this, I would prefer the introduction of trades and handicrafts throughout all classes, female as well as male; that would acquire money, and the means to purchase, not only subsistence, but the decent comforts of life, in proper habitations. [*Several words illegible here in MS.*]

That all this is attainable (I hope you will not attribute the remark to any foolish pride in the arrangement or economy of a soldier's life) is demonstrable from the view of the order, comfort, and creditableness of the families of the Cape Colonial Corps, throughout their various quarters; and two very respectable gentlemen of your society, (Messrs. Ulbricht, &c.) who accompanied me during my tour through Albany, will readily bear witness to the improvement of these people, and the capability of civilization and decent demeanour they exhibit. The introduction of a very extensive school at the head-quarters of the regiment, at Graham's Town, to the amount of some hundreds of children, cannot fail to produce the happiest consequences, and by giving in the lapse of a very short time, to all of the Hottentot nation who shall stand in need of instruction, will tend to establish Christianity upon grounds, and under prospects not to admit of doubt.

In regard to your *first* proposition, of the establishment of a Missionary Society on the Cedar Mountains, I will hold the necessary communications with the Deputy Landdrost of Clanwilliam, and shall give to the subject the best future consideration in my power.

Your *second*, about the existing one in George District, at *Hooge kraal*, must of necessity be thus regulated. I have visited the spot myself, and from the nature of the ground, close to the sea, and the farms surrounding it in every direction, it is impracticable to enlarge the grant; and, therefore, any excess of population must be removed elsewhere. The new establishment at "Theopolis," in Albany, offers every good and suitable accommodation.

Upon the *third*, for a station at Kamies Mountain, near the limits of the colony, also in the Deputy Landdrostship of Clanwilliam, I must decline at this moment to give any answer, till I have more fully informed myself of all the circumstances, in respect to the apparently wretched condition of the Hottentots of that kraal. I deplore the description equally with you, but I fear that we cannot put aside the reflection, that unless the present proper spirit of activity and due regulation produce in future "great alter-

ation," appearances may be urged against the effect of most of the Missionary Establishments, and that the common observer would be led to imagine, that no real good had been accomplished hitherto.

On your *fourth* proposal, for a station also at the Great Zwarteberg, in the district of Graaff Reynet, I must equally require time to gain the full information that is necessary.

I am much obliged by the account you sent me of the numerous establishment at the Klaar Water, beyond the limits of the colony; and coming from so respectable a source as yours, (though the means of information, from the shortness of your stay, must be confined,) I am willing to believe, that the mischiefs so universally imputed to that Association are not so great as are alleged; and that, under proper regulations, it may become something better than the refuge of many disorderly and wicked persons, who are obliged to fly from justice. I still see, however, that it has carried off many persons that belong to this colony; and considering our very scanty population, the loss of any of the inhabitants must be accounted a great evil, and resisted by government.

To evince the good-will and co-operation of the government in all the pious works your respectable institution proposes, I am happy to promise my ample support to the society at Bavians Kloof, as foremost in those essentials of industry and usefulness, without which every association must, sooner or later, fall to the ground; and I will enlarge their grounds and means of subsistence; but, even with them, I conceive that employment may take a much more extended sphere, and that traffic and manufactures may be introduced, of which, at present, they seem to have no intention.

To relieve Bethelsdorp, and give the best chance of improvement to a place never designed by nature for a creditable or useful institution, I have granted, as far as the circumstance is practicable, (the legal difficulties of which you are well aware of) the beautiful tract in Albany, to which we have given the name of *Theopolis;* and I will cherish the hope, that in this situation all the prospects of united Christianity and utility to the world, in which we now indulge, will be realized. Such is the fertility and abundance of the place in every necessary of life, together with wood, water, and every material for building at hand, that the very view of it will take away all excuse.

I shall close this communication with exhorting you to instruct all your subordinate missionaries, to show the utmost respect to the several landdrosts, under whose authority they may be placed, and that they may be especially enjoined not to admit any person into their societies without the concurrence of the magistrate in writing, as laid down by former governments. Without the performance of this indispensible condition, there will be perpetual complaint and irritation.

I have now, Reverend Sir, but to express the great satisfaction I

have derived from your special mission and residence in this colony, and to declare my assurance, that the respectability of your character, and your unassuming, amiable, and conciliating disposition, rendered more effectual by the extent of your travels and researches, will not only further in the greatest degree, the object of your mission, but leave a lasting impression of general advantage.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
With great esteem,
Your faithful and obedient Servant,

The Rev. John Campbell, (Signed) J. F. Cradock.
Deputy from the London Missionary Society.

No. V.

Missionaries who accepted Appointments under the Colonial Government.—(Vide vol. i. p. 202.)

The Rev. J. B. Kicherer and the Rev. John Evans left the service of the London Missionary Society, to enter into the Dutch Colonial Church, and their example was followed in 1818, by the Rev. Dr. Thom, and the Rev. John Taylor. The Rev. John Brownlee left the Society at the same time, and accepted of an appointment under government, but he has since returned to its service, and is now labouring as one of its missionaries in Cafferland.

No. VI.

Proposal to abolish the Institution of Pacaltsdorp. — (Vide vol. i. p. 244.)

Expressing my surprise to the missionary then at Pacaltsdorp, that such a scheme should have been proposed by the acting governor, who had till then shown himself friendly to the missions, I received from him the following account of the affair. At the commencement of the Missionary Institution at Pacaltsdorp, there was no scarcity of servants felt in the district; the change which had recently taken place in that respect, and the improvement which had been made upon the Hottentots, had produced a change in the feelings and opinions of the local authorities and of the colonists towards the institution.

They allowed that Mr. Pacalt was a very good man, and that he had done much for the Hottentots; but urged that they had not been making the same progress they had done during his life; and they considered it a shame that they should be living on their gardens and fields, when the colonists could not get people to do their work. Mr. Van Kerval the landdrost, who had been such a friend to the

institution, fell by degrees into the same way of thinking; and they now consulted among themselves by what mode they should proceed to effect their object. The acting governor must be gained, and some pretext must be employed to gain him over to their views.

Sir Rufane Donkin was then in Albany among the English settlers; and as it was known how much his feelings were alive to every thing connected with their interest, it was agreed that he should be requested to locate a few English settlers near the town of George, for the benefit of the district, on the Missionary Institution of Pacaltsdorp. Not that there was any wish on the part of the old colonists, or of the local authorities, to have English settlers near them; I had often heard them express their dread on this subject, but their wish to have the cheap labour of the Hottentots overcame this feeling; and on the return of the acting governor to the drosdy of George, the insidious proposal was made to him, and the grounds on which it was urged gained his approbation at the time. The following circumstance will show how men's minds change with their circumstances, and how little their opinions are to be trusted when they fall under a selfish bias. Mr. T——, a Scottish farmer, arrived in the colony, strongly recommended by the colonial department at home to the colonial authorities at the Cape of Good Hope, with twenty-eight English servants. He purchased a farm in the neighbourhood of George, and, on his arrival, he was very sanguine in his expectations. I happened to be at George when he first arrived in the neighbourhood, and I met him several times at the landdrost's and in other places in the district. He visited Pacaltsdorp, and he was very friendly to the institution, and spoke of it every where in the most favourable terms. He ploughed and sowed to a considerable extent, but his crops perished by the rust. Under successive disappointments, his means failed him, he could not pay his servants their wages, and he was obliged to part with them. In his distress he applied to the Missionary Institution for assistance, and the people assisted him as much as was in their power; but he became so much reduced in his circumstances that he could no longer pay them their small pittance of wages. While things were in this state on his farm, it could not be supposed that the Hottentots would continue to labour for him. His applications to the institution for Hottentots were no longer attended to; the Missionary could not induce them to labour for Mr. T—— for nothing. In this reduced state he called upon me one day in Cape Town. His views concerning Missionary Institutions were now completely altered from what they formerly were. Hottentot institutions were now a nuisance to the country; the people, he said, ought to be removed from them and dispersed among the farmers, (that is, given to them on their own terms;) and, he added, that it was a shame to the religious people of England to support such establishments, while the colonists could not get servants!

No. VII.

Account of the Caffer Chief Makanna, and the Attack on Graham's Town in 1819.—(Vide vol. i. p. 259. and vol. ii. p. 163.)

THE following account of the chief Makanna is extracted from the notes of my friend Mr. Pringle, who has combined in it the information he derived from several military officers, and other individuals engaged in the late Caffer wars, with the details furnished to him by some of the Missionaries, and by intelligent Hottentots and Caffers, during his residence on the eastern frontier of the colony:—

"The counsels of the Caffer chiefs were at this time (1818), directed by an extraordinary individual, generally known in the colony by the name of Lynx, but whose native appellation was Makanna. He had been originally a Caffer of low rank, destitute of property, and without any pretension to nobility of lineage; but, by his talents and address, had gradually raised himself to distinction. Before the present war broke out, he was in the habit of frequently visiting the British head-quarters at Graham's Town; and had evinced an insatiable curiosity and an acute judgment on subjects both speculative and practical. With the military officers he talked of war, or of such of the mechanical arts as fell under his observation; but his great delight was to converse with Mr. Vanderlinger the chaplain, to elicit information in regard to the doctrines of Christianity, and to puzzle him in return with metaphysical subtleties or mystical ravings.

"Whether Makanna had acquired any correct views of the Christian system seems very doubtful; but of his knowledge, such as it was, he made an extraordinary use. Combining what he had learned respecting the creation, the fall of man, the atonement, the resurrection, and other Christian doctrines, with some of the superstitious traditions of his countrymen *, and with his own wild fancies, he framed a sort of extravagant religious medley; and, like another Mahomet, boldly announced himself as a prophet and teacher directly inspired from Heaven. He endeavoured to throw around his obscure origin a cloud of mystery; and impiously called himself 'the brother of Christ.' In his usual demeanour he assumed

* "Many of the traditionary customs of the Caffers, besides the rite of circumcision, bear a striking resemblance to those of the Mosaic law, and seem strongly to corroborate Mr. Barrow's opinion, that they derived, however remotely, their lineage from an Arabian origin. Many terms in their language appear to point to a similar source. For example, the name of that beautiful animal, the Springbok (*Antelope pygarga*), is *Tzebe* in the Amakosa tongue; and it is a curious fact that the very same word is used in Hebrew to denote an antelope of the same description, if not the precise species, erroneously rendered 'roe' by our translators: 'Like a roe (*Tzebe*), or a young hart, upon the mountains of Bether.'"

a reserved, solemn, and abstracted air, and kept himself apart from observation; but in addressing the people, who flocked in multitudes to hear him, he appeared to pour forth his soul in a flow of affecting and impetuous eloquence. The missionary Read, who visited him in Cafferland in 1816, describes his appearance as exceedingly imposing, and his influence both over the chiefs and the common people as most extraordinary. He addressed the assembled multitudes repeatedly in Mr. Read's presence with great effect; inculcating a stricter morality, and boldly upbraiding the most powerful chiefs with their vices: at other times, instructing them in Scripture history, he adduced as a proof of the universal deluge, the existence of immense beds of sea-shells on the tops of the neighbouring mountains. To the Missionaries he was apparently friendly, and urged them to fix their residence in the country under his protection; yet they were puzzled by his mysterious demeanour, and shocked by his impious pretensions, and could only conclude that he was calculated to do much good or mischief, according as his influence might be ultimately employed *.

"By degrees he gained a complete control over all the principal chiefs, with the exception of Gaika, who feared and avoided him. He was consulted on every matter of consequence, received numerous gifts, collected a large body of retainers, and was acknowledged as a warrior chief as well as a prophet. His ulterior objects were never fully developed; but it seems not improbable that he contemplated raising himself to the sovereignty as well as to the priesthood of his nation; and proposed to himself the patriotic task, (for, though a religious impostor, he certainly was not destitute of high and generous aspirations,) to elevate by degrees his barbarous countrymen, both politically and intellectually, nearer to a level with the Europeans.

"But, whatever were Makanna's more peaceful projects, the unexpected invasion of the country by the English troops, in 1818, diverted his enterprise into a new and more disastrous channel. The confederate chiefs, in turning their arms against Gaika, though roused by their own immediate wrongs, had acted at the same time under their prophet's directions; for it was one of his objects to humble, if not to crush entirely, that tyrannical and treacherous chief, who was the great obstacle to his public and, perhaps, personal views of aggrandizement. With the English authorities he had assiduously cultivated terms of friendship; and had not apparently anticipated any hostile collision with them on this occasion. But, after Brereton's destructive inroad, by which Makanna's followers, in common with the other confederate clans, had suffered most cruelly, the whole soul of the warrior-prophet seems to have been bent upon revenging the aggressions of the Christians, and emancipating

* See Missionary Transactions, vol. iv.

his country from their arrogant control. He saw that this was not to be effected by mere marauding incursions, such as had always hitherto characterized Caffer warfare. The great difficulty was to concentrate the energies of his countrymen, and direct their desultory aims to more important objects; and this he at length effected.

" By his spirit-rousing eloquence, his pretended revelations from Heaven, and his confident predictions of complete success, provided they implicitly followed his counsels, he persuaded the great majority of the Amakosa clans (including some of Hinza's warriors) to unite their forces for a simultaneous attack upon Graham's Town, the head-quarters of the British troops. He told them that he was sent by Uhlanga, the Great Spirit, to aveuge their wrongs; that he had power to call up from the grave the spirits of their ancestors to assist them in battle against the white men, whom they should drive, before they stopped, across the Zwartkops river and into the ocean; ' and then,' said the prophet, ' we will sit down and eat honey!' Ignorant of our vast resources, Makanna probably conceived that, this once effected, the contest was over for ever with the usurping Europeans.

" Having called out the chosen warriors from the various clans, Makanna mustered his army in the forests of the Great Fish River, and found himself at the head (according to the best accounts) of about nine thousand men. He then sent (in conformity with a custom held in repute among Caffer heroes) a message of defiance to Colonel Willshire, the British commandant, announcing ' that he would breakfast with him next morning.'

" At the first break of dawn the warriors were arrayed for battle on the mountains near Graham's Town; and before they were led on to the assault, were addressed by Makanna in an animating speech, in which he is said to have promised the aid of the spirits of earth and air to assist their cause and to countervail the boasted prowess of the ' white men's fire.'

" Thus excited, they were led on by their various chiefs, but all under the general direction of the prophet himself, and his chief captain, Dusani the son of S'Lhambi. The English were completely astonished and taken by surprise, when they appeared, soon after sunrise, marching rapidly over the heights which environ Graham's Town; for Colonel Willshire had so entirely disregarded the message sent him, considering it a mere bravado, that he had taken no precautions whatever, and was himself very nearly environed by the enemy as he was taking a morning ride with some of his officers! Had the Caffers advanced by night, they could not have failed of capturing the place.

" All was now bustle and confusion in the little garrison, which consisted of only about three hundred and fifty European troops, and a small corps of disciplined Hottentots. The place had no re-

gular defences, and the few field-pieces which it possessed were not in perfect readiness. The Caffers rushed on to the assault with their wild war-cries. They were gallantly encountered by the troops, who poured upon them, as they advanced in dense disorderly masses, a destructive fire of musketry, every shot of which was deadly, while their showers of assagais fell short or ineffective. Still, however, they advanced courageously, the chiefs cheering them on, almost to the muzzles of the British guns; and many of the foremost warriors were now seen breaking short their last assagai, to render it a stabbing weapon, in order to rush in upon the troops, according to Makanna's directions, and decide the battle in close combat. This was very different from their usual mode of bush-fighting; but the suggestion of it evinces Makanna's judgment, for, if promptly and boldly acted upon, it could not have failed of success: the great bodily strength and agility of the Caffers, as well as their vast superiority in numbers, would have enabled them to overpower the feeble garrison in a few minutes.

"At this critical moment, and while other parties of the barbarians were pushing on to assail the place in flank and rear—the old Hottentot Captain, Boezac, who happened that day to be accidentally at Graham's Town with a small party of his buffalo-hunters, rushed intrepidly forward to meet the enemy. To old Boezac most of the Caffer chiefs and captains were personally known. He was a man of great coolness too, and familiar with their fierce appearance and furious shouts. Singling out the boldest of those who, now in advance, were encouraging their men to the final onset, Boezac and his followers, some of the best marksmen in the colony, levelled in a few minutes a number of the most distinguished chiefs and warriors. Their onset was for a moment checked. The British troops cheered, and renewed with alacrity their firing, which exhaustion and dismay had somewhat slackened. At the same instant the field-pieces, now brought to bear upon the thickest of the enemy, opened a most destructive fire of grape-shot. Some of the warriors madly rushed forward and hurled their spears at the artillery-men. But it was in vain. The front ranks were mown down like grass. Those behind recoiled—wild panic and irretrievable rout ensued. Makanna, after vainly attempting to rally them, accompanied their flight. They were pursued but a short way; for the handful of cavalry durst not follow them into the broken ravines where they speedily precipitated their flight. The slaughter was great for so brief a conflict. About fourteen hundred Caffer warriors strewed the field of battle; and many more perished of their wounds before they reached their own country. *"

* For the issue of this war and the fate of Makanna, I must refer to Mr. Pringle's notes, already repeatedly quoted, which contain also a most eloquent and affecting speech, delivered by one of Makanna's warriors, immediately after the capture of his chief, to the English Commandant in the front of his conquering army.

No. VIII.

Compensation to the Hottentots of Theopolis for their Losses during the Caffer War, and for their Labours at Fort Willshire.—(Vide vol. i. p. 259.)

The following Correspondence between the Frontier Commandant and the Local Authorities, with the Missionary at Theopolis, will sufficiently illustrate the passages referred to in the text.

Uitenhage, Oct. 14, 1820.

Sir,—Six oxen, supposed, by the mark, to have been stolen from the late Mr. Brockhuizen by the Caffers, retaken and sent to Zwart Ruggens, have now been returned to me. Now, as the late Brockhuizen got full compensation from the captured Caffer cattle, he, or rather his estate, can have no further claim; and as I know the poor people under Mr. Ulbricht to have received scarcely any compensation in proportion to their loss, I send these six oxen to you, begging of you and Mr. Ulbricht to divide them amongst the most deserving of those who lost and got no compensation.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Barker, *Theopolis.* (Signed) J. C. Cuyler.

They also suffered much loss from being inadequately compensated for their labour in assisting to raise fortifications on the frontier, as the following documents will testify:—

Fort Willshire, Aug. 9, 1820.

Sir,—I received your letter by the relieving Hottentots, and have this day sent the twelve men who were here off for the school; only ten have now come in, out of which I have given four leave to go back, as they state they have not sown their corn; as I suffer great inconvenience from sparing them at present at your request, I therefore trust you will send them back to me the moment they have their corn sown, and the two others with them to complete the twelve. The six men now here have no corn to sow, or else they have done it.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Ulbricht. (Signed) Thos. Willshire.

Fort Willshire, Sept. 23, 1820.

Sir,—About six weeks since, upon your application, I permitted four of the Hottentots to proceed from hence for the purpose of sowing their corn, since which I have never heard of them; and in consequence of their absence, am obliged to require additional labour from those at camp; I therefore beg these four men, or four

others in their place, may be sent here immediately; and those men who are now in camp are looking very anxiously for the relief, which I should be glad if you could send at the same time as the four men alluded to.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Ulbricht, *Theopolis.* (Signed) THOS. WILLSHIRE.

Theopolis, March 15, 1821.

Sir,—I take the liberty of intreating your assistance in obtaining the following persons at home, in order to prepare for the Opgaaf.

There are with Colonel Willshire, Andries Swartbooy, Scheeper Swartbooy, Klaas Kivit, Klaas Cupido, Piet Prins, and Willem Links. With Mr. Hope, Hans Platjes and Jantje Witbooy. With a Mr. Eshoigt, Hoert Links.

I have, &c.

To Captain Trappes. (Signed) G. BARKER.

Theopolis, March, 1821.

Sir,—In reply to yours of the 9th inst., I have to state that I consider it impossible to send men to relieve those named in mine of the 15th, nor have authority so to do, without a positive order from the magistrate of the district.

I am informed that not a man of those who have been employed in Fort Willshire has received any reward for his labour; and if those now there are not sent home, to procure by some means money for the Opgaaf, I cannot conceive how it can be demanded from them. I beg leave to recommend to Captain Trappes the consideration of what the families of those men must suffer at home whose parents are thus employed earning nothing.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. BARKER.

To Mr. Dyason, *Landdrost's Clerk, Bathurst.*

Theopolis, March 26, 1821.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, with that of the Deputy Landdrost's, dated 21st inst., and shall forward as early as possible a list of those men who have been employed under Colonel Willshire.

I have, &c.

To Captain Trappes. (Signed) G. BARKER.

The following is a copy of the list of men, with the periods of service, who were employed at Fort Willshire.

First Party.

Windvogel Scheepers,	Stoffel Trompeter,
Filander Laberlot,	Witbooy Laberlot,
Ourson Trompeter,	Klaas Sturmsman,
Willem Links,	Klaas Boezak,
Jakob Jantjes,	Willem Hans.

Ten men, employed fourteen days.

Second Party.

Valentine Hogelveld,	Witbooy Hunteman,
Windvogel Nausks,	Witbooy Prins,
Platje Kleinbooy,	Andries Zwartbooy,
Speelman Mattroos,	Jakob Malayas,
Dragoender Kivit,	Oranje Wiltschut,
Platje Jance,	Klaas Africa.

Twelve men, employed six months.

Third Party.

Mattroos Boardman,	Cobus Jury,
Cobus Andries,	Abraham Brander,
Arnoldus Morits,	Piet Prins,
Piet Buys,	Klaas Windvogel,
Witbooy Laberlot,	Ruiter Stuurman,
Stuurman Stuurman,	Hans Platje.

Twelve men, employed six months.

Fourth Party.

Jantje Witbooy,	Hendrick Klees,
Kleinbooy Ruiters,	Platje Bezuidenkant.

These four men were sent back; but out from home eight days, and worked two days.

Andries Tamboer,	Stoffel Trompeter,
Willem Links,	Michel Klaas.

Six men, employed five months.

The following men are now at Fort Willshire :—Andries Swartbooy, Piet Prins, Klaas Kivit, Willem Links, Klaas Cupido, Scheeper Swartbooy.

These six men went in the month of December last, and have remained until this; their families are suffering at home.

Theopolis, April 4, 1821. (Signed) G. Barker.

Graham's Town, April 23*d*, 1821.

Sir,—Since the 5th inst., on which I received a letter from Capt. Trappes, relative to the Hottentots from Theopolis being considered

entitled to pay, I have directed that all those employed by government shall receive wages from the 5th inst. I have now to beg you will cause two of those Hottentots so hired for government, and who have absented themselves, and are gone to Theopolis, to be immediately sent to Graham's Town, from whence I have been compelled to send two others in their place; their names are, Whitebooy Ruiter, who had a pass for four days to Theopolis from the 5th inst., and has not since returned, and Hanse Plache, who deserted on the night of the 19th inst. By thus absenting themselves, if they do not return, they will forfeit their wages due to them from the day I considered them hired, the 5th inst. I beg to say, that the Hottentots from the school may be relieved as often as you may wish, only taking care that the number now employed is kept complete as long as the government require their services; and for that number pay or wages will be allowed, which pay shall, if you think best, be handed to you, when drawn, every two months, and by you given to those entitled to it. As I suffer great inconvenience from the want of the leader and driver I have given from hence, in room of the two absent, I beg of you to lose no time in sending back to Graham's Town, and to report themselves to me, Whitebooy Ruiter and Hanse Plache.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Barker, *Theopolis.* (Signed) THOS. WILLSHIRE.

NOTE.—After much trouble and delay, the above men were paid, by order of Sir Rufane Donkin, at the rate of six rds. per month, according to the several periods above specified; the money was received on the 5th of August, 1821.

As an apology for Colonel Willshire for not paying the people their scanty wages, it was alleged that they did not serve *willingly*. Whatever the friends of the Colonel might think of such a defence, it is scarcely to be supposed that it would satisfy the starving families of the Hottentots.

No. IX.

Theopolis Correspondence.—(Vide vol. i. p. 260 and p. 298.)

THE following correspondence with the local authorities of Albany will, in conjunction with what has been given in Chapter XIV. of Volume I. sufficiently corroborate the statement above referred to, and illustrate the condition of the Hottentot people under the present system.

Graham's Town, 17th Jan., 1820.

SIR,—I am ordered by the Landdrost to request you to send the men as follows, to be employed in government service: Willem Valentyn, Booy Windvogel, Willem Matroos, Piet Bouys, Hans Bouys, Knegt Tigeland, Jager and Mattroos Baardman. Be

pleased to send these men as soon as possible. The work is at a stand.

Your Friend,

(Signed) P. M. CRONHOUT,

To Mr. Ulbricht. *Field-Cornet.*

My dear Friend Ulbricht,—There are, again, two invalids belonging to the men whom you have sent to labour here, viz., Hans Platje and Piet Buys, who are so indisposed, that they are not capable to sixty-four bullocks; otherwise, I would have sent them back, and have kept the two you sent yesterday.

My dear friend, send me other people, for it will not do else—Do not forget my planks.

Yours, sincerely,

Saturday, 5th Feb., 1820. (Signed) F. H. STÆDEL.

Graham's Town, 18th Feb., 1820.

Friend Ulbricht,—I am quite surprised, not having received a reply to my letter, dated the 7th, in which I inclosed a letter to Thomas Mulder, ordering him, on behalf of the Deputy Landdrost, H. Somerset, to proceed to Graham's Town immediately; else, I shall be under the painful necessity of adopting some measure, which will be very disagreeable to him; and please to communicate to me his answer, to show to the Landdrost. Jantje Witbooy is complaining that he has been here two months; is there no possibility of releasing him? Hire me another in his place, and I will send him home immediately. Please to tell me where Mr. Knobel is, and whether the Caffers have made their appearance again in your neighbourhood; they are wandering about here very much.

I am, yours sincerely,

(Signed) F. H. STÆDEL.

The bearers of this note, are the people whom I took with me from Theopolis, except Booy, who is to accompany my waggon to Uitenhage, in place of Schepper who cannot go. He will return immediately. I have paid the people who have been employed up to this date, and must beg leave to request you to keep them free from other commanders, till I return or call upon you in person, which will be very shortly. Five men are only arrived, but should wish for more, even ten, if possible; because, otherwise, it will retard the work, and prove very burthensome to the people. Should I be prevented from calling upon you in person, I will take good care that you will be informed as to the day when the people are to be at Graham's Town.

(Signed) J. KNOBEL.

Mr. Ulbricht,—The bearer of this note is sent to fetch his things; please to return him to-morrow. The inclosed circular, to all Field-cornets, is designed for your information. I trust, that in case said Hottentots should be at your institution, you will have the goodness to let me know.

I am, yours sincerely,
(Signed) F. H. STÆDEL.

Mr. Ulbricht,—Of the twelve Hottentots, ten are only arrived; some at one time, and some at another time. Two of them, Cobus Andries and Witbooy Laberlotte, are at Boezak's. I have summoned Boezak, and ordered him to bring with him the two men, and will cause him to receive a good reprimand.

Yours, sincerely,
(Signed) F. H. STÆDEL.

Graham's Town, 5th April, 1820.

Sir,—At the request of the Deputy Landdrost, I am solicited to inquire whether there is any possibility of your sending eight men, to be exchanged for eight employed in government service; but in case this request cannot be complied with, whether three might be exchanged with three others who are indisposed. In the mean time, I take the liberty to inform you, that it is the design of Col. Willshire to give the men employed in his service two skillings a day, besides their rations, from this date, provided they hired themselves to him without any compulsion and willingly; and if there might be found any who might feel inclined to engage themselves in this way, state that you are at liberty to send them with the bearer of this note. One hundred and fifty men of the Cape Corps will leave you for the Kowie this evening. The Landdrost wishes you to send a patrol to Major Fraser's place, to meet his patrol to-morrow morning early, and to give them such directions as we might be able. After meeting with Capt. S.'s patrol, they may return.

Yours, &c.
(Signed) F. H. STÆDEL.

Graham's Town, June 12, 1820.

My dear Friend,—I have received this morning the discharge of some Hottentots, but not of nine as you mentioned,—there are no more than five.

Jan Jantjes, Piet Jacobs, Platje Jacobs, Dragoender Jacobs, Jantje Witbooy, and Smit Jager, have been here ever since yesterday. The five who have been here, I return with those who are in Caffer Land. I can do nothing until others are sent in their place. The Landdrost told me, that if there were twenty-five more, it would not be too many.

I am, your obedient Servant,
To Mr. Ulbricht. (Signed) F. H. STÆDEL.

Graham's Town, 30th June, 1820.

Sir,—The Deputy Landdrost has requested me to inform you, that he needs eight or ten Hottentots for two or three months, to be employed in making a ditch. Be pleased to send them as soon as possible; they will receive proper wages and rations.

Yours, &c.

Mr. Ulbricht. (Signed) T. H. STÆDEL.

Graham's Town, July 25th, 1820.

Mr. Ulbricht,—Please to give to Colonel Lyn a Hottentot, in lieu of the Hottentot Kieviet; but he must accompany the other Hottentot who comes in his place to receive payment.

(Signed) H. SOMERSET, *Deputy Landdrost.*

Graham's Town, 7th Aug., 1820.

Sir,—The two Hottentots, Claas Boezak and Wissil Magerman, who have been absent since the 12th, you will have the goodness to return as soon as possible.

Yours, &c.

(Signed) T. TIGMAN,

Mr. Ulbricht. *Acting Secretary.*

Graham's Town, 17th Aug., 1820.

Sir,—You are ordered by the Deputy Landdrost, Captain H. Somerset, to send back the Hottentot who received a pass last week to return last Sunday, and with him four more men, to continue at work at this place.

Captain S. requests that you will send strong able men.

Your affectionate Friend,

(Signed) H. TIGMAN.

To Mr. Ulbricht. *Acting Secretary.*

Graham's Town, 2d Sept., 1820.

Sir,—The Deputy Landdrost, Capt. Somerset, leaves it to your good pleasure, to exchange the four Hottentots in the engineer department.

I am, &c.

(Signed) H. TIGMAN,

Mr. Ulbricht. *Acting Secretary.*

Graham's Town, 2d Sept., 1820.

Sir,—Should the Hottentot boy, Windragel, not proceed to this place, immediately on the receipt of this note, the Landdrost, Capt.

Somerset, will cause him to proceed to this place by judicial authority.

I am, &c.

(Signed) H. TIGMAN,
Acting Secretary.

Mr. Ulbricht.

P. S.—Should a certain John Norton, who is with Mr. F. Meyer, be found wandering among you, be pleased to warn him to return to this place directly, to avoid unpleasant circumstances.

Graham's Town, Sept. 8th, 1820.

Sir,—I am under the painful necessity to communicate to you the dissatisfaction of the Deputy Landdrost, Captain H. Somerset, particularly as Witbooy Prins is wanting among the four you mentioned, and as Stoffel Boezak is unfit for service.

To tell you the long and short of it, the Deputy Landdrost, Captain S., requests that you will send Witbooy Prins, and another able Hottentot, in lieu of Stoffel Boezak. This is the serious request of Captain S., to which I do not doubt you will readily comply, in order to avoid unpleasant circumstances.

Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) H. TIGMAN,
Acting Secretary.

To Mr. Ulbricht.

Graham's Town, Sept. 11th, 1820.

Sir,—The Deputy Landdrost, Captain H. Somerset, demands, that you send ten Hottentots to be present at the prison next Sunday, the 17th of this month, and who shall be permitted to return the Sabbath following. Captain S. is quite surprised you have not sent, in lieu of the Hottentot who was deemed incapable for service, and for the one that remains behind, two others. Captain S. requests seriously that you will comply with his order.

Duly authorised by the Deputy Landdrost,
(Signed) H. TIGMAN,
Acting Secretary.

To Mr. Ulbricht.

Graham's Town, Sept. 21st, 1820.

Sir,—I, the undersigned, command that you will forward to this place, immediately on the receipt of this letter, two young and strong Hottentots, to be bound for the present to the Field-cornet Joachim Christoffel Esbach, for about a year, for reasonable wages.

(Signed) H. SOMERSET, *Deputy Landdrost.*

P.S.—In case Arnoldus Morichts should be at liberty, you will much oblige the Field-cornet, as he is accustomed to him, having lived with him for some time.

To Mr. Ulbricht.

Graham's Town 23*d Sept.*, 1820.

Sir,—Captain Somerset, the Deputy Landdrost, has ordered me to send back to Theopolis the following men, Platje Boezak, Speelman Mattroos, Piet Boezak, Clynbooy Ruiter, Jacob Jacobs, Hans Klaas, Klaas Cupido, Jan Spogter, and Klaas Stuurman; and requests to have, in lieu of them, six young and healthy Hottentots.

I am, &c.

(Signed) H. TIGMAN.

Graham's Town, 26*th Sept.*, 1820.

Koert Links is willing to comply with the order of the Landdrost. David Ruyter has been detected, but is unwilling, saying that he does not belong to your school; his impudence is so great, that I caused him immediately to be imprisoned. I am expecting Capt. S.'s orders to-morrow, and intend sending him away with a hot back.

I am, &c.

(Signed) H. TIGMAN,

Mr. Ulbricht. *Acting Secretary.*

Sir,—Instead of ten, I have only received nine men; of whom I return Jacob Jacobse, Daniel Schoenberg, Kleinbooy Ruiters, Klaas Cupido. Jan Spogters has hired himself to Mr. Ditz to Uitenhage, for one trip. The request of the Landdrost is, that you will be pleased to send six healthy men in their place, for whom I will return six others now at work here.

Captain Somerset wishes to know where the two men remain, who were to be sent in place of Esback.

I am, &c.

(Signed) H. TIGMAN.

Mr. Ulbricht. *Acting Secretary.*

Graham's Town, 10*th Oct.*, 1820.

Sir,—In behalf of the Landdrost, Captain Somerset, I am ordered to request of you to forward to this place four Hottentots, to be employed for this district: in case Platje might be at Theopolis, please to send him with them. The Landdrost has granted him a pass for ten days, and he has not yet returned.

I am, &c. (Signed) M. J. ONKRUYDT.

P. S. Request that you will send with these four, the six others mentioned in a former letter.

Mr. Ulbricht.

Graham's Town, 16*th Oct.*, 1820.

Sir,—I beg of you, that you will have the goodness to forward to this place six brisk Hottentots, to be employed at the making of a ditch.

I am, &c.

Mr. Ulbricht. (Signed) M. J. ONKRUYDT.

Graham's Town, 20th Oct., 1820.

Sir,—The Landdrost has ordered me to write to you, and that he wishes you would send four Hottentots from Theopolis, to exchange with the four that are here; he likewise requests you would send with the Hottentots some matting, for which he will pay you. The Landdrost wishes the Hottentots to be here on Sunday evening.

I am, &c.

Mr. Ulbricht. (Signed) M. J. ONKRUYDT.

The superintendent of the school at Theopolis is requested to grant to Johan Potgieter, a Hottentot, to be employed by him as a postilion.

(Signed) M. J. ONKRUYDT,

January 19, 1821. *Secretary.*

Bathurst, April 28th, 1821.

Sir,—I am directed by the Provisional Magistrate to request that you will cause to be sent to Bathurst forthwith, Klaas Smith, and Arnoldus Maurits of your institution.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GEO. DYASON.

To Rev. G. Barker, *Theopolis.*

Bathurst, 2d May, 1821.

Sir,—I am directed by the Provisional Magistrate, to request that you will send to Mr. Swan, at the Secretary's at Graham's Town, a Hottentot driver. You will have the goodness to send him to-morrow; he will be paid wages, and receive rations for one month, the time he will be required.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GEO. DYASON.

To Rev. Geo. Barker, *Theopolis.*

Bathurst, 21st May, 1821.

Sir,—With reference to a letter addressed to you on the 2d inst., which Captain Trappes supposes must have miscarried, I am directed to request that you will forthwith send to Mr. Swan, at Graham's Town, a Hottentot driver.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GEO. DAYSON.

To Rev. Geo. Barker, *Theopolis.*

Bathurst, 2d July, 1821.

Sir,—I returned you by the hand of Mr. Brownlee, a short time since, the list of the Hottentots belonging to your institution, who

have been employed on the public works, with a verbal request, that you would take the trouble to inquire if the periods stated were correct, as far as could be made out. I made inquiry myself of the officers whom I thought most likely to know something of the matter, but could gain no information on the subject. I have now to request you will have the goodness to return to me again the lists corrected as far as can be ascertained, as I should wish to have the Hottentots settled with as soon as possible.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) JAMES JONES,

To Rev. G. Barker. *Landdrost.*

Bathurst, 26th July, 1821.

Sir,—In the absence of Major Jones, I beg leave to inform you, that one of the Hottentots sent here, was claimed and carried away by a Dutchman. The bearer goes back, and you will please, on the receipt of this, to dispatch two diligent Hottentots, as the public service will be retarded until your kind compliance.

I am, &c.

The Rev. G. Barker. (Signed) THOMAS MAHONY.

Bathurst, August 1, 1821.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that the public works are considerably retarded for want of four Hottentots, two to drive and two for leaders to the waggons. I beg leave, in consequence, to request you will be pleased to give such orders as will obviate this difficulty.

I am, &c.

To Major Jones, &c. &c. (Signed) THOMAS MAHONY.

Major Jones will thank Mr. Barker to assist Mr. Mahony to procure the drivers and leaders he is in want of.

Bathurst, August 1*st*, 1821.

Graham's Town, March 1, 1822.

Sir,—Having been informed by the district secretary, that previous to my arrival, he had sent an order for three Hottentots, to be supplied from your institution, for the government service, I beg to request that the same may be sent here *without any delay whatever*, as the public service is greatly impeded by the want of them.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) HARRY RIVERS, Landdrost.

Rev. G. Barker, *Theopolis.*

Graham's Town, 13th March, 1822.

Sir,—The public service requiring twelve Hottentots immediately, to assist in the field duties of the Royal Engineers, I have to require, as I have not been able to provide these persons by any of the other previous means to which I have had recourse, that you will point out to the bearer, twelve such Hottentots, residing at your institution, as may be fit for, and can be best and most conveniently appropriated to this service, to be employed for the space of two months, at the end of which period they shall be exchanged for two others.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) HARRY RIVERS, Landdrost.

The Rev. G. Barker, *Theopolis.*

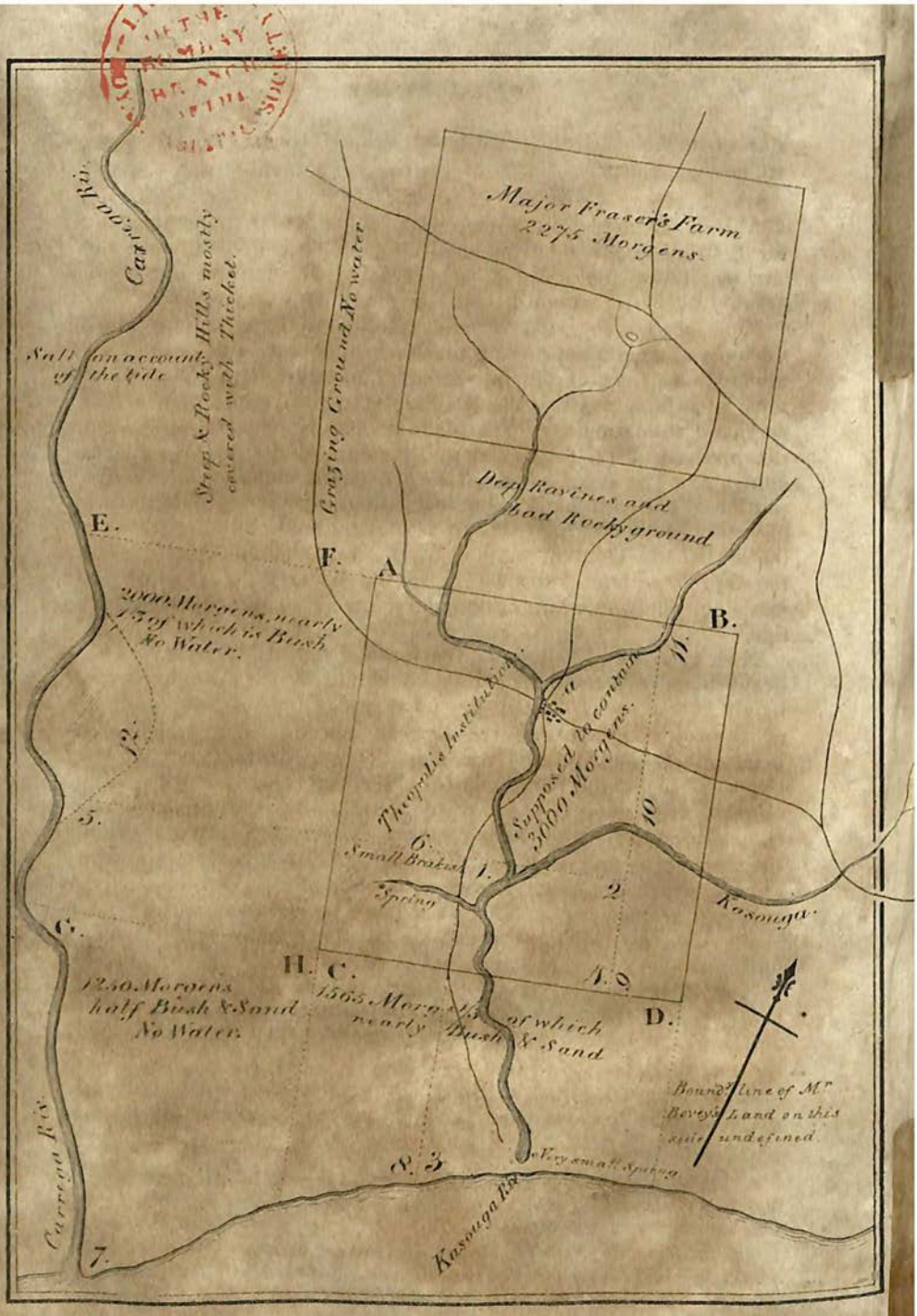
I have also orders from his Excellency the Governor, to provide three good Hottentots for the Cape corps, which orders have been uncomplied with for six weeks, for the reasons stated in this letter. I must therefore request you will send three to this office for that purpose in the course of a few days.

(Signed) HARRY RIVERS.

No. X.

Diagram of the Lands of Theopolis, &c.—(Vide vol. i. p. 269.)

THE accompanying Diagram is copied from the original in the Colonial Office. From the intersections made on the chart, and pointed out by figures, and the following explanation, it is made obvious, that the institution is not only deprived of the corn-lands which it cultivated in the year 1815, (which is in direct violation of the proclamation of 1817,) and indeed of all the valuable corn-land belonging to it; but the lands included in the original chart granted by Sir J. Cradock, and those which have since been added by Sir Rufane Donkin, constitute a part of the lands which are to be given to the new claimants. The portions alienated in this manner constitute the most valuable part of the lands originally granted to this institution, and which induced the missionaries and the Hottentots first to form an establishment in this district; and if such grants, made under such circumstances, are to be thus violated, it may be asked what are the rights of the Hottentots? and what security have they that they may not be, in the course of a few weeks, deprived of the ground on which their houses stand, and they themselves driven from the institution, or carried back into that wretched state of



SKETCH OF THE INSTITUTION OF THEOPOLIS

and the adjacent Lands. by J. Knobel. Govt. Surveyor.

Ingrey & Hadley Lithog. 310 Strand

slavery, under which the great body of the Hottentots of the colony are now groaning

Explanation of the Chart.

A. B. C. D. describe the diagram of the original grant given by Sir J. Cradock on which the institution stands: *a.* points out the site where the village still stands: E. F. G. H. describe the lands granted to the institution by Sir Rufane Donkin, in 1821.

Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, describe the lands allotted to Mr. Grant, including the only remaining spring on the institution,—with an outpost, or village, consisting of ten huts, containing thirty-two inhabitants, most of whom are aged and diseased people, worn out in the service of the farmers, who subsist on the milk of some cows, and the produce of their gardens, and the corn land they are able to cultivate. The grant assigned to Mr. Grant contains a valuable portion of the corn-lands of the institution, together with the spring of water*, without which the grant of land made to the institution by Sir Rufane Donkin, marked E. F. G. H. will be of no use, being entirely without water except in the Karreega river, which is salt along the whole line of boundary, owing to the influx of the tide.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, describe the lands given to Mr. Bovey. This grant includes a small spring at the mouth of the Kasouga river, barely sufficient for the culinary purposes of one or two families, and upwards of one hundred acres of land around it, which have been under cultivation by the people of the institution. On the opposite side of the river, a little higher up, stands a village or outpost, consisting of twelve huts, containing thirty-five industrious Hottentots, who support themselves and their families by their waggons and oxen, and the cultivation of about sixty acres of land, which they have fenced with great labour, and which they cultivate to advantage. This place has no permanent spring, and in the dry season is dependent for a supply of water on the spring included within the land promised to Mr. Grant.

Nos. 9, 10, and 11, the dotted line within the diagram of the institution, running along its eastern boundary, will give a tolerable idea (by measuring the distance between that dotted line and the eastern boundary of the diagram) of the extent of land taken from the original grant of Sir J. Cradock to the institution, and given to Mrs. General Campbell. It may include about one thou-

* This fountain, which is designated *the brackish spring*, in the section of the lands in the accompanying diagram, is denominated in the description accompanying the chart,—the Long Fountain.

Note.—"The two thousand morgens adjoining and inclosed by dotted lines in red ink, may be made use of by the institution, in addition to the original ground also inclosed by lines in red ink."—*Copied from the original grant.*

sand acres, the greater portion of which has been under cultivation, some of itfrom the year 1815. Here I beg leave to refer to the proclamation of 1817, which states that the previous cultivator of land has the first claim upon it. This land, from its contiguity to the village, the nature of the soil, and from its having a stream of water running through it, is essential to the existence of the institution. A great part of this land has been fenced in by the people of the institution, at great labour, and a part of it is now under crop.

No. 12 a small valley on the Karreega, surrounded by bush, within the grant of Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin to the institution, is claimed by Mr. Dalgairns as promised to him by the governor, and on which he has already put up a hut.

Theopolis, July 18, 1825.

The following official letter from the Colonial Secretary, H. Alexander, Esq., to the Missionary Read, will show that the lands of Theopolis were held on precisely the same footing as those of Bethelsdorp. It has been the policy of the colonial government not to grant regular *legal* rights to the lands of the missionary institutions, with the view, obviously, of keeping them more dependent.

Colonial Office, August 11th, 1815.

Sir,—I am directed by his Excellency the Governor to state, in reply to your letter of the 21st July last, that his Excellency has directed the landdrost to permit you to occupy, provisionally, the land which has been recently measured, according to the diagram which has arrived, without a valuation, in the same manner you have occupied Bethelsdorp; and authorizes me to assure you, should circumstances ever lead to a re-assumption, all improvement and building, with the expense of the survey, shall be repaid; but difficulties still occur as to the mode of making out a title, and to whom, as well as the general policy.

His Excellency has no objection to the two missionaries you recommend, with their waggons and necessary attendants, proceeding on their intended mission.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) HENRY ALEXANDER.

Mr. J. Read, *Bethelsdorp.*

No. XI.

Bethelsdorp Correspondence.—(Vide vol. i., p. 316.)

My Lord,—In presenting the statement now laid before your Excellency, I beg it to be understood, that the individuals concerned in drawing it up, have no resentments to gratify; that they have no wish for redress for past wrongs; and that they have no object, on the present occasion, beyond relief from the unnecessary burdens the institution at Bethelsdorp is at present lying under.

I dare not affirm, of all the missionaries at Bethelsdorp, that no one of them has ever given Colonel Cuyler ground of offence. Where there are so many clashing interests, uninterrupted harmony between the landdrost of the district and those in the management of the institution, is, perhaps, next to impossible; but whatever blame may attach to an individual, the general spirit of the institution has been decidedly favourable to Colonel Cuyler.

Knowing Mr. Kitchingman to be a sensible, respectable, and moderate man, he was placed at Bethelsdorp, rather than at another station, in the hope that Colonel Cuyler and he would go on smoothly together; and the Colonel cannot be altogether ignorant, that in two instances of recent occurrence, in which prosecutions were brought forward against him, the missionaries resisted every attempt to bring them in as parties. Under a grateful sense of the personal attentions I at one time received from Colonel Cuyler, from the respect due to him as the magistrate of the district, and with a sincere desire of conciliating the Colonel toward the institution, I waited on him on my arrival at Uitenhage, on my last journey into the interior, but he refused to see me; and this circumstance, together with what has taken place since, has left me no alternative but the one now adopted, that of submitting all the differences between the landdrost and the conductors of the missionary institution at Bethelsdorp to the decision of your Excellency.

I have in my possession a vast variety of facts, showing the hardships and injuries to the Hottentots, which have arisen from the system pursued by the landdrost; but as those facts cannot be established without going into evidence,—to shorten the process, and to save your Excellency as much trouble as possible, I have laid them aside for the present. By this plan, the general effect of the statement is considerably impaired; but this deficiency will, in a measure, be compensated by superseding the necessity of further investigation.

The letters of the landdrost are our witnesses, and not only vouch for the facts exhibited, but are indeed the facts themselves.

If any doubt arise respecting the accuracy of the copies, the originals are at hand, and can at any time be compared with them.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.,

To his Excellency (Signed) JOHN PHILIP.
Lord Charles Henry Somerset, &c. &c.

Cape Town, 1822.

A Statement of the Hardships to which the Hottentots at the Institution of Bethelsdorp, in the District of Uitenhage, are exposed; also respecting the Disadvantages under which the Missionaries at that Station labour.

IN laying before your Excellency a statement of the hardships to which the Hottentots at the Institution of Bethelsdorp are exposed, and of the disadvantages under which the missionaries at that station labour, we beg leave most respectfully to solicit that relief which the case demands, and which we cannot doubt will be afforded when your Excellency is made fully acquainted with the grievances of which we have to complain. An inquiry into the nature of those grievances was instituted by his Excellency the late acting governor, on his visit to that station in May, 1821, and a partial reform was then effected through the representations made by the missionary at the head of that establishment. He had been for some time past obliged to provide men often three, four, or five times, weekly, to convey letters addressed to the commandant or the commissary at Port Elizabeth, also to field-cornets, or elsewhere; and on the arrival of answers or other communications from that port, the missionary was required to transmit them to the drostdy of Uitenhage, whilst no compensation was paid to the persons performing these duties. Nor could the head of this institution decline the services thus imposed on his people, how much soever their own duties might demand their attention. This circumstance having been taken into consideration by his Excellency, orders were issued by his Excellency the acting governor, to provide other means of conveyance for such letters; and the desired relief was in this instance afforded.

We are therefore warranted to hope, that when a clear and full statement of the causes of complaint is submitted to your Excellency's notice, we shall meet with that justice which is due to the individuals forming the Bethelsdorp institution, as free men and British subjects.

The object of the statement is not to bring forward complaints arising out of circumstances which have long since transpired, but to state things as they actually exist, and we shall therefore confine ourselves to such facts only as have occurred during the course of the two preceding years, and are now daily taking place.

The institution consists of a limited number of persons; most of

the males are married men with families. The number of names at present on the books amounts to about two thousand—men, women, and children, among whom there are not more than three hundred and fifty efficient men, and of these about two hundred and thirty are invariably employed by the farmers and other inhabitants of the colony. All demands, therefore, for the three services just noticed, necessarily fall upon those who constantly reside at the institution, the missionary at the head of the establishment having legally no power to call individuals from their services with the surrounding inhabitants, to take their share of the burdens cast upon the institution. Not less than forty persons possess waggons; and to prove the value of this, we need only refer to the commissariat accounts at Algoa Bay, by which it will be found, that upwards of twenty individuals have, in one day, had their waggons engaged to convey government stores, earning, at a low computation, between thirty and thirty-five rix-dollars a week. Thirty out of these forty waggons have been engaged at one time in this and other employments, by which they gain, as just stated, from thirty to thirty-five rix-dollars a week. But whatever advantages the Hottentots might derive from a free application of their time and services, this privilege is denied them. The orders of the landdrost are peremptory, and require able-bodied men for their proper execution. These orders, as will be seen, have been as punctually attended to as the circumstances of the institution permitted. In many instances, therefore, the head of this institution has had to insist upon individuals complying with these orders, who were earning some three, some four, and some five times as much as they would receive for performing the orders of the landdrost. These men are compelled to leave their own employment, under the certain knowledge, that, during their absence, their families suffer great privations. The wages paid the individuals engaged in what is called public work are the same now as were given many years ago, although it is a fact well known to the officers of government employing these individuals, that the necessaries of life are increased in price in a four-fold proportion. The rate of the wages paid is two skillings in money, one pound and a half of meat, and one pound of bread daily to each individual. To which there is the following important exception, viz., those Hottentots who are employed in repairing roads receive the usual allowance of food, but no money. It is clear, then, that in this case no provision whatever is made for the families of the married workmen; whereas those in the service of the farmers have some means of support found for their families. When that is not the case, the parents' wages are sufficient to enable them to obtain some provision for their wives and children. It is difficult then to conceive the hardships often experienced by the families of such labourers when serving under orders from the landdrost. It may be added,

that in no instance have they received their pay till the expiration of one, two, or three months; during the whole of this time, their families are deprived of those on whom they necessarily depend for support. Thus it appears evident, that the hardships to which they are exposed by this and similar acts of oppression, tend very considerably to keep them in the degraded state in which they are unfortunately placed.

In proof of what has been advanced, your Excellency's attention is requested to the subjoined correspondence commencing in February, 1820.

Copy of a letter from J. G. Cuyler, Esq., landdrost of the district of Uitenhage, to the Rev. Geo. Barker, head missionary at Bethelsdorp.

Uitenhage, 12th February, 1820.

Sir,—May I beg the favour of your directing twenty (if so many are conveniently to be had) of your Hottentots to repair to this place on Monday 21st, present month, to aid in the water runs and roads repairing under directions of Mr. L. M. Van Rooyen? they will be paid for their labour by Mr. Van Rooyen.

I have, &c.,

To Mr. Barker. (Signed) J. G. Cuyler.

The following reply was returned.

Bethelsdorp, 14th February, 1820.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 12th instant. If twenty men can be obtained, they shall be forwarded according to order.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) G. Barker.

To Colonel Cuyler.

A few days subsequent to the above order, the following letter was addressed to the landdrost.

Bethelsdorp, 21st February, 1820.

Sir,—I forward the following men for work according to yours of the 12th instant:—Jan Windragel, Pieter Plaatjes, Windragel Ruiters, Andries Windragel, David Jantjes, Hendrik Bandman, Piet Koho, Jantje Springveld, Hendrik Bruintjes.

The number falls short of that required. I have ordered more in, who are near, but I have not seen them yet; when they come I will forward them.

I have, &c.

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) G. Barker.

And two days after the above, the following, having reference to the former communications, was also forwarded to the landdrost.

Bethelsdorp, 23d February, 1820.

Sir,—I forward the following men for work :—Cupido Bakker, Arnold Ruiters, Jan Jochem, Andries Opperman.

I have, &c.

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) G. BARKER.

In the month immediately succeeding the demand above noted, the following order was received at Bethelsdorp.

Uitenhage, 10th March, 1820.

Sir,—May I beg the favour of your aiding the road-master Vermaak, with ten or twelve men to repair the roads between Cradock's Town and Sunday's river, passing the drift of Zwartkop's river and Saltpan Hoogte?—these people to meet the road-master at Mr. Mare's place, on Wednesday morning next, 15th, at 8 o'clock. Mr. Vermaak will furnish them with provisions ; but if you could lend a few tools it would aid the work.

I have, &c.,

To Mr. Barker. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

Bethelsdorp, 13th March, 1820.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 10th instant ; as many men shall be sent as can be possibly procured. I have only three pickaxes in my possession, two of which I will send with those who go to work.

I have, &c.,

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) G. BARKER.

On the 26th June, a demand for a similar purpose was given to the missionary at Bethelsdorp.

Uitenhage, 26th June, 1820.

Sir,—I beg the favour of your directing ten or twelve of the Hottentots belonging to your institution to repair to Algoa Bay on Thursday evening next, 29th present month, there to receive instructions from Captain Evatt, to work on the road in the direction from the bay to Mr. Korsten's, for two days.

I have, &c.,

To Mr. Barker. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

Bethelsdorp, 30th June, 1820.

Sir,—Nine of our people were sent to the bay yesterday to proceed to Captain Evatt, according to yours of the 26th instant.

I have, &c.

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) G. BARKER.

In endeavouring to elucidate further this part of the statement, it becomes necessary to introduce a correspondence, which though not directly emanating from the landdrost, is, it will be perceived, connected with subsequent letters from that office. The 2d August, a letter was received by the Rev. G. Barker, from a Mr. Van Rooyen, containing a demand, in the name of the landdrost, for twenty men, but bearing no official signature. The following is a copy of the Dutch original, and a translation is annexed.

Uitenhage, den 2 August. 1820.

Myn Heer,—Deze dient om ue met naam van den landdrost, vriendlyk te verzoeken de goedheid te hebben om my tegen Zondag avond den 13 Augustus, aanstande, twentig Hottentoten te zenden, om my in het schoonmaken, &c., van de Watersloet, behulpen Zaam te Zyn, dewyl ik tegen dien tyd zal klaar zyn om er aan te beginnen, en hoop dus dat ue niet zal verzuemen te zorgen dat zy op den bestemden tyd heir komen. Verblyv in goede verragting,

Myn heer,
U. E. D.W. DIENAAR,

De Heer Barker, *Bethelsdorp.* (Signed) L. M. VAN ROOYEN.

Translation.

Uitenhage, 2d August, 1820.

Sir,—This serves friendly to request you in the name of the landdrost, to have the goodness to send twenty Hottentots, by Sunday evening the 13th August, for the purpose of assisting me in clearing the water-courses, because I shall be ready to begin at that time. I hope, therefore, that you will not delay, but take care to send them at the appointed time. Hoping you will attend to my request,

I remain, Sir,
Yours, &c.,

To Mr. Barker. (Signed) L. M. VAN ROOYEN.

To the above communication, the Rev. G. Barker transmitted a reply in Dutch, a copy of which, with a translation, is as follows:—

Bethelsdorp, 4 August. 1820.

Myn Heer,—Ik heb de eer uiven brief van den 2 deezes te erkennen. Ik versoek permissie ue indagtig te maken; 1st Ue eischt twentig van myn volk op Zondag. Gendenk wat een onaangenaam werk voor my des Zondags zoo viel volk by elk ander te maken, daar ik wat anders te doen heb. Ue neemt de vryheid dit eischt te doen met naam van den landdrost. Zoo ver als ik met Colonel Cuyler te doen heb gehad het verblydt my te kannen getui-

gen dat hy zulks op Zondag noch niet gedaan heeft, en ik weet dat hy my in myne Godsdienstige verpligting nooit zal stooren. 2d. Dat werk meld ue dien zy doen moeten, is het watersloet schoenmaken; het algemeen werk der inwoonderen van de Dorp. Ue heeft het opzicht en zeker wordt ue betaald. Ik moet volk daartoe vinden, en dus het grootste last valt op my; maar wat dienst wordt er het government bewezen wanneer ik zulk zal gedaan hebben? 3. Ik onderwerp my aan niemand dan den landdrost; wanneer hy my gelast gevoel ik 'z myn plight hem onderdanig te zyn, zyn ordre wordt met plesier voldaan.

Ik verblyve met achting,
U. E. D. W. DIENAAR,
De Heer L. M. Van Rooyen. (Signed) G. BARKER.

Translation.

Bethelsdorp, 4th August, 1820.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 2d inst. I beg permission to remind you, first, of the demand for twenty of our people on the Sunday. Consider what an unpleasant occupation it would be for me to get together so many people on the Sunday when I have something else to do. You take the liberty of making this demand in the name of the landdrost. So far as I have had any thing to do with Colonel Cuyler, I am happy to be able to witness that he never did any thing of the kind on a Sunday, and I am certain that he will never disturb me in my religious exercises. Secondly, the work you want them for is the clearing of the water ditches, the public work of the inhabitants of the village. You have the management, and of course get paid; I must give you men to do it, and thus have the greater share of the trouble, and what service do I show to government when I have done this? Thirdly, I shall submit myself to no other than the landdrost; when he orders me, I conceive it my duty to obey. His orders are with cheerfulness complied with.

I remain, &c.
To Mr. Van Rooyen. (Signed) G. BARKER.

Mr. Barker having expressed his opinion, that he was not bound to pay attention to Mr. Van Rooyen's request in the name of the landdrost, and therefore would not do it, he received the following order from the landdrost himself.

Uitenhage, 8th August, 1820.

Sir,—I regret any misunderstanding may have taken place in consequence of an application to you by Mr. Van Rooyen, the road-master; be assured it has not been made with any intent to disturb the harmony of your Sunday service.

Will you now do me the favour, if you have so many men to spare, to send over here, in the run of this week, twenty men, or as near that number as you can conveniently get, to aid Van Rooyen in the public works of this place?

I remain, &c.,

To Rev. G. Barker. (Signed) J. G. Cuyler.

The Reply.

Bethelsdorp, 11th August, 1820.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge yours of the 8th instant, and should have waited on you personally, but time would not permit. I do not know whether Mr. Van Rooyen and I understand each other. I certainly thought another day would have answered the same purpose as the Sunday, to have sent the people, and would have been much more convenient for me. I shall exert myself to the utmost to have as many as possible at Uitenhage, but fear the number will fall short of twenty. I understand Mr. Van Rooyen has had two men in his own service since those discharged, who made the bridges, and which circumstance makes it the more difficult for me to collect the numbers now. Not that I have any objection to their working for Mr. Van Rooyen, or any other person; but I conceive when he has them for any particular work, he ought to discharge them when that particular work is done, unless they remain with him by their own consent.

I have, &c.,

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) G. Barker.

To this letter no answer is discoverable amongst the documents of the institution; and the missionary at that time in charge has stated, that he does not remember to have received any; it is therefore probable that no reply was received. A reference, however, to the records in the landdrost's office would at once determine the question, whether or not any notice was taken of this charge of injustice against Mr. Van Rooyen.

Bethelsdorp, 12th August, 1820.

Sir,—I forward the undermentioned Hottentots to aid Mr. Van Rooyen in his work: Klaas Stuurman, Conraad Ruiters, Hendrik Hendriks, Jakob Jakobus, Valentin Michals, Willem Uithaalder, Plaatje Links, Africa Caesar, Flink Capten, Ourson Matroos, Jantje Wankener, ——— Stuurman.

The number is far short of the demand; some of our people are ploughing, and I cannot take them off. In the course of next week they will have done, and if necessary I shall be able to send more.

I have, &c.

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) G. Barker.

Relative to the above letter, the Rev. G. Barker addressed the following to the landdrost.

Bethelsdorp, 4th December, 1820.

Sir,—Those of our people now employed under Mr. L. M. Van Rooyen, have been with me, stating, that they consider the time expired for which they were commanded, and requested to be relieved; if their services are longer required and you approve it, I will send others to relieve them.

I have, &c.,

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) G. BARKER.

The following is a copy of Colonel Cuyler's reply.

Uitenhage, 4th December, 1820.

Sir,—I have just seen Mr. Van Rooyen, and he informed me he has only about one week's work more; and I conceive it is not worth while to have the people relieved for that short period.

I have, &c.

To Rev. G. Barker. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

In reference to the same transaction, a letter was received from Mr. Van Rooyen, which points out the precise time that the men who were commanded, were discharged.

Translation.

16*th December*, 1820.

Sir,—I send you the work Hottentots, namely, Klaas Stuurman, Hendrik Hendriks, Valentin Miggil, Conraad Ruiter, Ourson Matros, Plaatje Links, Willem Withalder, Africa Quiza, Jakob Jakobus, Jantje Wankner, Klaas Stuurman.

P. S.—Klaas Soldaat I have kept here to open and shut the water-sluices; if you can send me another in his stead, who well knows how to work with ditches, then he may go home.

I remain your good friend,

(Signed) L. M. VAN ROOYEN.

To the Rev. George Barker.

It is here necessary to request attention to a few remarks upon the above communications.

The number of men demanded on the occasion, it is observable, exceeded the means of the institution; and the frequency of similar requisitions has been of late years an evil almost incompatible with its existence. The period the people were required to remain, was from the 12th August to the 16th December, (see Mr. Van Rooyen's letter of the 16th December, 1820;) and even then an

exception is made in the case of Klaas Soldaat, by the presumption of an unauthorized individual, thus subjecting this poor Hottentot to greater loss than his fellow-labourers, in consequence, probably, of his industrious exertions having enabled him to acquire a knowledge they did not possess. The same individual appears to have assumed a similar authority, (see his letter of 19th December) five months after the date of the letter in which the Rev. Mr. Barker's charge against him was preferred. It is thought proper to bring forward the above information, which the correspondence itself affords respecting this person, because, as is probably known to government, the conduct of this individual came under the cognizance of his Excellency the acting governor: for, under an order of his Excellency, the missionary in charge of the institution at Bethelsdorp was required to proceed during his Excellency's stay at the drostdy of Uitenhage, to the village, and to examine a building, concerning which his Excellency said representations had been made to him, stating that the Hottentots commanded from the institution, to aid Van Rooyen in the public work, (see Colonel Cuyler's letter of 8th August,) had been employed in building a private house for the boor Van Rooyen. Upon this occasion his Excellency observed, a gross misrepresentation had been made by the missionary; and it is certainly a matter of regret that the information which his Excellency received regarding the work done by the Hottentots had not been given, in the first instance, with sufficient precision to have prevented any misconception. For it was in the representation, made to his Excellency the acting governor, stated, that a substantial house had been built by the Hottentots under command and on government work; whereas it ought to have been stated that the Hottentots had been employed in assisting to raise the wall of a house for Mr. Van Rooyen. In proof of this fact, we can state that the Rev. Dr. Philip, accompanied by the Rev. J. Kitchingman, did, on the 30th October, visit the drostdy of Uitenhage, and by actual admeasurement ascertain the truth of the above statement; for the walls of the house, which had been raised, were each thirty-three feet in length, twenty feet in breadth, upwards of eighteen inches thick, and the height in one part five feet, and in another six feet. Should it become expedient, doubtless the personal attestations of these ministers will be readily given. What proportion of these new buildings was actually done by the hands of the Hottentots commanded solely for public work, is not of course a question of importance; since, whether much or little was gained by their labour, the principle of the public officer who can thus act, is equally demonstrated. Should it now be thought requisite to know the exact quantity of work done, it would not be easy to ascertain, for parts of the wall have been pulled down and rebuilt by the Hottentots at different times. From the above statement it appears evident that the Hottentots belonging to the

institution of Bethelsdorp, when under command to perform public work, were, in addition to that grievance, subjected to private work for the benefit of Mr. Van Rooyen, receiving only the remuneration granted by government, whereby, as explained in the preliminary observations, the welfare and support of their families are greatly impaired. ' Should it be asked, why was no complaint on this subject laid before the proper authority by the Hottentots,—it is a sufficient answer to remark, that the orders they received were to aid Van Rooyen in the public work. Again, they might naturally have been led to suppose the erection of the above walls a public work, because carried on openly, in the public street of the village, and necessarily under the immediate eye of the landdrost, who, they could not but know, was fully aware that he had commanded them only to aid Van Rooyen in public works. The remaining communications will now be entered upon.

August 24th, 1820.

Sir,—Captain Evatt complains of the bad state of the roads at Port Elizabeth; may I beg the favour of your ordering from ten to fifteen able-bodied men from the Hottentots of your institution to the bay for the purpose of repairing the roads? Please inform Captain Evatt when you send them. I have also to request that you will be good enough to send a party to cast the stones out of the road, between your institution and the Zwartkops river, on the upper road passing the place of Jacob Kok.

I have, &c.,

To Rev. G. Barker. (Signed) J. G. Cuyler.

Mr. Barker's Reply.

Bethelsdorp, August 28th, 1820.

' Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of yours, under date 24th instant. As many as can be possibly collected shall be forwarded to Port Elizabeth without delay. The road shall be cleared of stones from this to the Zwartkops river in the course of the week.

I have &c.

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) G. Barker.

Agreeably to the landdrost's command, the following was sent to Captain Evatt.

Bethelsdorp, August 29th, 1820.

Sir,—I forward you the following Hottentots, as per request of Colonel Cuyler, from the institution, to repair the roads in Port Elizabeth:—Klaas Zealand, Andries Jokem, Noog Vogelsruis, Ar-

noed Ruiters, Andries Matroos, Louis Witboor, Windragel Ruiters, Andries Schuman.

I have, &c.

To Captain Evatt. (Signed) G. BARKER.

Under date February 6th, 1821, the following was received by the missionary at Bethelsdorp.

Uitenhage, February 6th, 1821.

Sir,—L. M. Van Rooyen is about going to clear the water-runs here, and will require assistance for that purpose. May I beg of you to order ten or twelve men over here for that purpose, as soon as you can?

I have &c.

To Mr. Barker. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

Mr. Barker's Reply.

Bethelsdorp, February 7th, 1821.

Sir,—Yours of yesterday was duly received, and shall be executed with all possible speed.

I have, &c.

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) G. BARKER.

Again, on the 12th of February, the missionary at Bethelsdorp sent the following letter to the landdrost.

Bethelsdorp, February 12th, 1821.

Sir,—The following men have been ordered to repair to Uitenhage, to assist Mr. L. M. Van Rooyen, viz. Goliath Willems, Schepper Boezak, Kalend Prins, Lutig ———, Ourson Platje, Schepper Wilderman, Windragel Ruiter, Jakob Windragel, Gert Windragel, Hendrik Cloete.

The following is a copy of the Landdrost's Reply.

Uitenhage, February 15th, 1821.

Sir,—Your letter of the 12th has been delivered, but the following persons not yet appeared, viz. Goliah Willem, Schepper Wilderman, Windragel Ruiter, Schepper Boezak. I beg you will order three or four others in their place, to appear for the work as soon as possible.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Kitchingman. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

The Missionary's Reply.

Bethelsdorp, February 16th, 1821.

Sir,—Yours of the 15th I had the honour to receive last night, and was sorry to hear that your order had not been properly attended to. I did not know but that the men had all been gone, except Windragel Ruiters, who complains of being ill. I take the liberty of sending three others, Kebil Janze, Hendrik Kloete, and Piet Manuel.

I have, &c,

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

The following is another order for a certain number of men.

Uitenhage, March 23rd, 1821.

Sir,—I beg you will be pleased to direct a sufficient number of men to commence, on Monday next, the 26th, to clear the roads between this place and Port Elizabeth, (to say, the upper road, passing Kok's place, and through Bethelsdorp, commencing at the Zwartkops-river-drift, to Port Elizabeth,) of all the loose stones. I request that the stones may be cast sufficiently far from the road, so as they may not readily roll into it again; and that you will have the goodness to acquaint me when completed.

I have, &c.

To Mr. Kitchingman. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

P. S. Also that you will further be pleased to direct ten or twelve men to be held in readiness to aid the road-master, in the course of next week. The exact day, I shall hereafter inform you, to repair the under-road to the bay.

The Missionary's Reply.

Bethelsdorp, March 23rd, 1821.

Sir,—Yours of the 23rd instant was duly received, and I shall endeavour to collect a sufficient number of men against the time, and for the purposes mentioned; but I conceive there will be great difficulty in doing this, as most of the people are from home with the professed design of earning money to pay their opgaaf.

I have, &c.

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

The following was also sent by the Missionary.

Bethelsdorp, March 26th, 1821.

Sir,—I beg leave to inform you, in answer to yours of the 23d instant, that a considerable number of men have been ordered to

clear the road of stones, from Zwartkops river to Port Elizabeth. The other men, to assist the road-master, will, I hope, be ready against the time appointed.

I have, &c.

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) J. ITCHINGMAN.

With respect to the above letter, it is to be observed, that in compliance with the order of 23d March, upwards of twenty individuals worked for two days, without receiving either provisions or pay, and the same may be said of those ordered under date 26th March.

The following was received from the Landdrost:

Uitenhage, 27th March, 1821.

Sir,—The road-master has appointed Monday the 2d April next, to commence on the roads; and I beg your men (12) may join him on the morning of that day, at the Rev. Mol's erf, contiguous to the place, for the purpose of working the road, at which they will be employed for the whole week.

I remain, &c.

To Mr. Kitchingman. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

The Missionary's Reply.

Sir,—I forward the following men to assist the road-master, viz. Elias Campher, Hendrik Boorman, Jan Skuppers, Jan Jochem, Coenraad Janers, Hendrik Jakobs, Joannes Matros, Michel Diderick. I am sorry that this falls short of the number required. The opgaaf being at hand, many of the people are from home, so that it is with difficulty we have procured the above number.

I have, &c.

To Col. Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

The above requires an observation or two before further correspondence is entered upon. The individuals whose names occur in the letter, were not only compelled to give their labour at a distance from home, but had no provision whatever found for them. They continued at work three days, till, constrained to relinquish it by the pressing calls of hunger, they returned home. This circumstance was communicated to the landdrost by the Missionary, who was informed that it was quite foreign to the landdrost's intention; and arose from his not being in the office at the time instructions were issued for the men. This fact is not mentioned to attach blame to any individual; it was clearly an inadvertence; but to point out what sufferings may arise from the present system of commanding; whilst willing to put the most candid construction on the landdrost's apology, yet we must observe, that no compensation in lieu of the rations which should have been given, was made to the Hottentots,

It must also be noticed, that the men commanded at any time to clear the roads in the immediate neighbourhood of Bethelsdorp, receive no provisions or remuneration whatever.

The following letter was to remind the Missionary of a previous verbal order given by the landdrost:—

Uitenhage, May 10th, 1821.

Sir,—I have been for some days looking out for the men you were to send to repair the water-courses. I hope you did not forget it; we want ten able men as soon as possible.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Kitchingman. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

Please to forward the inclosed to Capt. Evatt.

Bethelsdorp, May 11th, 1821.

Sir,—Your order respecting those men to clean the water-courses, was not forgotten, but the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of men is at present great. Some are now ready, and I expect more at home to-day. Early in the morning I intend forwarding them to you. I have, &c.

To Col. Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

Another letter was sent to the landdrost on this order.

Bethelsdorp, May 14th, 1821.

Sir,—Doubtless you have been anxiously expecting to see the men you commanded from this place; they would have been forwarded on the 12th instant, but several of them, whom we had called home, had not arrived; therefore, I could not send them before this morning; their names are Willem Exteen, Jan Uithaalder, Claas Vigeland, Malgas Louis, Boor Cornelius, Hendrik Boardman, Adam Claas, Kees Ruiters, and Hendrik Cloete.

I have, &c.

To Col. Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

We now submit to your Excellency's notice, copies of correspondence, to show that the Hottentots at the Institution of Bethelsdorp are called upon to perform services for the government, which are, from the manner in which this power is exercised by the landdrost, extremely oppressive. The precise nature of these services will be seen by the following letters:—

Uitenhage, 28th March, 1820.

Sir,—I have to request, for the Field-cornet Kok, for four leaders and two drivers, to aid the waggons taking on government stores from the Bay to Graham's Town. These people will be required to be at the Bay to-morrow (Wednesday) evening. May I beg the favour of your sending these required men?

I am, &c.

To Mr. Barker. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

In reply to this communication, the following letters were transmitted to the office of the landdrost:—

Bethelsdorp, March, 1820.

Sir,—In reply to your's of the 28th inst. I have to state, if it be possible for me to procure four leaders and two drivers, they shall be forwarded to the Bay according to request; but as our men are now all among the farmers, and the others employed with their waggons, it will be difficult to procure so many. May I beg, if consistent, to be excused the trouble of providing drivers and leaders, on account of the difficulty?

I have, &c.

To Col. Cuyler. (Signed) G. BARKER.

Bethelsdorp, March 29th, 1820.

Sir,—I forward the following drivers and leaders, to aid the waggons to Graham's Town.

Conraad Ruiters, *driver.* Hendrik Ruyters, *leader.*

I have, &c.

To Capt. Evatt, *Algoa Bay.* (Signed) G. BARKER.

The following letter was sent to the landdrost, in consequence, it would appear, of some previous communication, which is not to be found:—

Bethelsdorp, 19*th April,* 1820.

Sir,—I forward the following Hottentots to serve in the capacity of Caffer constables; Jan Lundard, Jakob Abel.

I have, &c.

To Col. Cuyler. (Signed) G. BARKER.

The following was received from Col. Cuyler:—

Uitenhage, 7*th Dec.* 1820.

Sir,—Mr. Hart requiring hands to get in the harvest at Somerset Farm, I beg of you to order ten or twelve of your people to proceed to Somerset without delay. Herewith a pass to fill in the names of those you send.

I have, &c.

To Mr. Barker. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

The Missionary's Reply.

Bethelsdorp, 11*th Dec.* 1820.

Sir,—I have started this morning twelve Hottentots to Somerset, according to your request of the 7th inst.

I have, &c.

To Col. Cuyler. (Signed) G. BARKER.

The names of the twelve individuals, who were sent in compliance with the above order, were as follows:—Karel Michels, Joannes Matroos, Kees Ruiters, Pieter Lusat, Kobus Jager, Philip Brill, Andries Boozak, Cupido Andries, Jan Jochen, Hendrik Boozak, Jan Dragonder, Jan Windragel.

With reference to the case of these men, the following letter was sent to the landdrost, by the Rev. J. Kitchingman, who during their absence had taken charge of the institution, in place of the Rev. G. Barker:—

Bethelsdorp, 29th Feb. 1821.

Sir,—I understand that, in the month of December last, twelve men were commanded to Somerset to cut corn. As their families here are in great distress, I beg leave to ask whether they may not be permitted to return to provide for them.

I have, &c.

To Col. Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

The Landdrost's Reply.

Uitenhage, March 1st, 1821.

Sir,—Your letter dated 29th Feb., I suppose meant 1st March, I have just received. I shall send your application to Mr. Hart at Somerset, and doubt not but he will discharge the men.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Kitchingman. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

Before transcribing any more correspondence, it is requisite to add a few remarks on the cases of the individuals last commanded. The time they were absent, as appears from the above letters, was from the 11th December, till at least the middle of March in the following year. The distance from Bethelsdorp to Somerset, is about four or five days journey. This case affords strong proof of the hardships these Hottentots are exposed to, by the manner *alone* in which they are commanded. Another observation may also be made upon the fact in question. If the absence of twelve persons from their families, for three months, is productive of great distress, at a time of the year when the fruits of the earth are most abundant, what estimate must be formed of the hardships endured by those families, whose chief supporters are absent, four, or even six months, at less favourable seasons?

But to continue, the following was received from the landdrost:—

Uitenhage, 8th Feb. 1821.

Sir,—I beg of you to be so good as to order an active young Hottentot, as post-rider for the government post, held by Seven Stenen, residing at Little Winter Hoek; but let the post-rider call here,

when he shall receive further instructions; he will receive a fair price as wages from Seven Stenen. [Herren?]

I am, &c.

To Mr. Barker. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

To the above the following reply was made:—

Bethelsdorp, 18th Feb. 1821.

Sir,—The bearer, Valentyn Michael, I have designed for post-rider, as per order of the 8th inst.

I have, &c.

To Col. Cuyler. (Signed) G. BARKER.

The following demand was also made:—

Uitenhage, 10th May, 1821.

Sir,—I request you will be pleased to furnish Mr. P. Mare, jun with an active Hottentot, to carry the post to Quachas Flats.

I have, &c.

To Mr. Kitchingman. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

Again,

Uitenhage, 3d June, 1821.

Sir,—I beg of you to aid the bearer, Mr. P. Mare, who has the post at Quachas Flat, with one, and, if possible, two Hottentot boys, to ride post.

I have, &c.

To Mr. Kitchingman. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

The Missionary's Reply.

Bethelsdorp, 9th June, 1821.

Sir,—Your first letter, requesting a boy to ride the post at Quachas Flat, I received, and have spared no pains to procure a suitable Hottentot; but as yet have been unsuccessful. Here are no such boys at home, except two, who assist in keeping school; perhaps one or more may be coming, which might be commanded for that purpose.

I have, &c.

To Col. Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

Another letter from the Missionary:—

Bethelsdorp, 14th June, 1821.

Sir,—With this I forward the bearer Piet Willems, as post-rider, for Quachas Flat, being the only boy found suitable for such an employment.

I have, &c.

To Col. Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

The Landdrost's Reply.

Uitenhage, 14th June, 1821.

Sir,—I received your letter of the 9th June, wherein you inform me that you cannot furnish a post-rider for Quachas Flats. *I once more have to request of you to send a boy to me for that purpose, with as little delay as may be.*

I have, &c.

To Mr. Kitchingman. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

The Missionary's Answer.

Bethelsdorp, 14th June, 1821.

Sir,—I received your letter of the 14th June, in answer to which, I have to state that I forwarded a boy, this morning, Piet Willems, for the purpose requested in your letter. By this time he must be at Uitenhage.

I have, &c.

To Col. Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

The case of the person whose name occurs in the above correspondence, affords a striking instance of the injustice done to individuals under the system of commanding, not, it is evident, intentionally on the part of government; but as the Missionary is compelled to act under the landdrost's orders, these evils have arisen, and will continue to arise, from the exercise of the power at present vested in the landdrost of Uitenhage. The correspondence shows, that the Missionary in charge of the institution had much difficulty in procuring a person in compliance with the landdrost's orders. The Missionary found this Hottentot under an engagement to one R——, a Malay inhabitant of Port Elizabeth, for eight rds. a month; part of these wages was given to his foster-parents, he being of Caffer extraction, and never having known his own parents. It was also part of the agreement, that he should be instructed in the art of fishing and curing fish, R——'s occupation.

In consequence, however, of the landdrost's order, through the Missionary, Willem was obliged to forego all these advantages, and become post-rider. Thus was the Missionary obliged to be an agent in frustrating the hopes of a young man, who was setting out in life with every expectation of success. The Missionary under whose charge these poor Hottentots place themselves, is considered by them as a protecting father; yet he is forced, under the present system, to disobey the authority of the magistrate, or to oppress those whom he accounts his children. It may be well to add, that this individual, after being a post-rider about five months, ran away, came to the institution on the 19th November, and requested his expulsion, from the Missionary, well knowing, that if he was not a member of the Bethelsdorp family, he would not be liable to such

hardships. This request was refused, because, had he been expelled and relieved from employment as post-rider, the institution must have found another to supply his place.

In July, the landdrost sent the following order:—

Uitenhage, 31*st July*, 1821.

Sir,—I request you to be so good as to direct four men from your institution, to proceed here as soon as possible for public work, reporting their arrival at my office.

I have, &c.

To Mr. Kitchingman. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

The Missionary's Reply.

Sir,—Yours of to-day, respecting four men for public work, will be attended to as early as possible.

I have, &c.

To Col. Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

Accordingly, on the first August, four individuals were sent, as appears by the following letter:—

Bethelsdorp, 1*st August*, 1821.

Sir,—Agreeably to your request of yesterday, I forward four men for public work: their names are Booy Plaatjes, Geert Weezer, and Arnoed Prins.

I have, &c.

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

The following is from the Rev. J. Kitchingman:—

Bethelsdorp, 25*th August*, 1821.

Sir,—The bearer, Piet Ruyters, who was commanded, a long time ago, as post-rider, passing this place in pursuit of Mr. O'Donald's oxen, has called, wishing me to request you to release him from this service; especially as he conceives that the work in which he is generally employed is more of a private than a public nature.

I have, &c.

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

The Landdrost's Reply.

Uitenhage, 27*th August*, 1821.

Sir,—In reply to your letter of the 25th, there can be no objection to the post-rider, Piet Ruyters, being relieved; and, as soon as you will replace him by another, I shall direct his being discharged accordingly.

I have, &c.

To Mr. Kitchingman. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

Bethelsdorp, 10th October, 1821.

Sir,—The parents of the following post-riders, viz. Jan Hans, Piet Ruyters, and M. Plaatjes, being old, infirm, and indigent, have frequently applied to me to request you to permit them to return to me. But as, from a former letter, it appears that they cannot be discharged without others being sent to supply their places, I have with the greatest difficulty, there being no other alternative, procured the following boys to serve in their stead, viz. Thys Boardman, Magerman Kettledoes, and Africander Pieters. As those boys have been accustomed to earn something for their parents, they request to know what wages they will receive per month, and if it would be convenient to pay them monthly, that their parents may have the privilege of receiving at least a part of their money. I humbly request you will answer me on this subject.

I have, &c.

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

The Landdrost's Answer.

Uitenhage, 11th October, 1821.

Sir,—The three post-boys have arrived, and will receive each three rix-dollars per month [4*s.* 6*d.* sterling]; the old ones are ordered to return to your institution. I have, &c.

To Mr. Kitchingman. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

A letter showing that a Hottentot, taken from the Bethelsdorp institution under the pretext of his becoming a post-rider, was employed to drive the waggon of a private individual.

Bethelsdorp, 21st November, 1821.

Sir,—I embrace the earliest opportunity of informing you of an accident which has happened to Thys Boardman, whom I forwarded to you as post-rider on the 10th October last. I have just seen him; he informs me he was sent to Graham's Town by Mr. O'Donnel, the under-sheriff, as a waggon-driver to Mr. O'Donnel's waggon. Yesterday, on his way from Port Elizabeth with a load, in the road passing Cradock's Town he had occasion to jump from the waggon, when his kaross caught fast to the waggon, and he fell under the wheels. It appears from his own statement, and from the appearance of his wounds, which I have seen, that the wheel or wheels ran over both his feet, one of which is severely bruised, so much so that, apparently, he will not be able to walk for a long time. He went with the waggon, in this state, to the bay, where the load was discharged. The waggon having to pass this place, this morning on its return to Uitenhage, he, being full of pain, and unable to drive, requested Boosman, the leader, to leave him here to the care of his friends.

I have, &c.

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

We may again remark, that no answer was received from the landdrost to the above letter, no commiseration shown, nor has the boy received the pay due to him.

Uitenhage, 24th July, 1820.

Sir,—I have to request that you will be pleased to order a driver and leader, from the Hottentots belonging to your institution, to proceed to Port Elizabeth, there to report themselves to Captain Evatt, to work with a team of oxen on government work till further orders; of course they will be paid.

I have, &c.

To Mr. Barker. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

Another Letter from the Landdrost. Dec. 7, 1820.

Sir,—Be so good as to order four or five waggons to proceed to the bay, to transport goods from the landing. Pray desire the people not to quit without Captain Evatt's knowledge.

I have, &c.

To Mr. Barker. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

Uitenhage, 20th December, 1820.

Sir,—Having sent to have a prisoner apprehended at Port Elizabeth, I beg of you to furnish the bearer with a couple of active Hottentots, to aid him in bringing the prisoner.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Barker. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

Uitenhage, 30th April, 1821.

Sir,—Captain Evatt being in want of three waggons to convey the government stores now landing to the stores at Port Elizabeth, may I beg of you to order that number from amongst your people to proceed to the bay, and report themselves to Captain Evatt, as fast as possible?

I have, &c.

To Mr. Kitchingman. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

To the above an answer was returned the same day.

Bethelsdorp, 30th April, 1821.

Sir,—Yours of the 30th has just come to hand, and I shall endeavour to procure three waggons, and send them to Port Elizabeth without delay.

I am, &c.

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

Having, in the former sheets of this statement, laid before your Excellency all the information it was considered requisite to adduce on one of the points which came under the observation of h[illegible]

cellency the late acting governor, in the course of his Excellency's inquiry, it now becomes necessary to notice another subject which came under his Excellency's cognizance, viz.

That power exercised by the landdrost of Uitenhage, not possessed, it is believed, at all events not exercised, by any other landdrost, with respect to similar institutions, of refusing permission to Hottentots who may have complied with the terms of the proclamation of 1st November, 1809, to join the institution at Bethelsdorp.

To afford all the information at present obtained on this subject, it will be well to notice the origin of the power complained of, which, it will be seen, was an assumption on the part of the landdrost himself. The first communication is a letter from the landdrost, in 1812, to the missionary then at the head of the institution.

Uitenhage, 3d July, 1812.

Sir,—Should either of the Hottentots named in the passes which the Field-cornet Ferreira shall show proceed to you, or be at your institution, I desire they may be directed to serve out their time.

I am, &c.

To Mr. J. Read. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

The following is a copy of one of the papers then produced in Dutch.

Translation.

This is to show that the following bastard Hottentots, females, were, upon the order of the landdrost of that time, enregistered, 1805, July 3d—viz. Grief, five years old, child of slave Esau, and Katare, Hottentot women, both till the age of eighteen years.

(Signed) P. J. KEMP, sen.

Uitenhage, 3d July, 1812. (Signed) J. KNOBEL.

The following was forwarded by the missionary in reply to the communication of Major Cuyler, landdrost, respecting the above named girls.

Bethelsdorp, 3d July, 1812.

Sir,—The two girls you desired me to direct to serve their time, if at the institution, are here, and I find it my duty to advise them to proceed to you previous to their going back to their former masters. Agreeably to Mr. Knobel's declaration, or rather P. J. Kemp, sen., and H. Moleman's, Grief must be now twelve years old, and Anna eleven. There requires not much knowledge of physiognomy to perceive that there must be somewhere a great mistake. If they were not more than eighteen years of age, they cannot be much less. Anna, it seems, was brought up at Genadendal, and has only been at Mr. Moleman's six or seven years;

knows nothing of being enregistered, and, as she says, she has never got any wages. Anna says she was given over to H. Wessel when her treatment was insupportable; but that she would not have so much objected to serve her old mistress, who on any account seems to have any right to her.

I am, &c.

To Major Cuyler. (Signed) J. READ.

On receipt of the above, and on examination of the women, whereby it became evident that a great imposition had been attempted, the following was addressed to the missionary in charge of the institution.

Uitenhage, 5th July, 1812.

Sir,—To prevent impositions, disputes, and troubles, I request that you do not receive any Hottentots of whatever description, at your institution (those already enregistered excepted) without their having been with me, and obtaining a permission for that purpose.

I have, &c.

To Mr. Read. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

Here it may be observed that the institution, and a considerable portion of the Hottentot nation, were at once, upon the mere ipse dixit of a subordinate officer, deprived of a most important right, which is exercised to this day by all similar institutions, with two exceptions, namely Theopolis and a station of the United Brethren at Enon, on the Witte river, and under the jurisdiction of the same landdrost. And this deprivation of right arose not from any improper conduct on the part of the conductors of the institution, but appears rather to have been the consequence of a proper interference by the head of the institution in a case of imposition and injustice towards two females, then resident at Bethelsdorp, which interference the head of that institution could not, consistently with a correct discharge of his duty, have declined.

The Misssionary's Answer to the Landdrost Cuyler.

Bethelsdorp, 7th July, 1812.

Sir,—Yours of the 5th was duly received, and agreeable to my instructions from the governor, I shall think it my duty to obey your orders. But as I conceive this order to be an infringement upon the rights of the institution, I hope you will not take it amiss that I lay the case before his Excellency, and beg his decision on the subject.

To Major Cuyler. (Signed) J. READ.

The Magistrate's Reply.

Uitenhage, 9th July, 1812.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant, and shall feel particularly happy at your laying my letter to you of the 5th before his Excellency the Governor, for his decision.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Read. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

In consequence, the Rev. J. Read immediately dispatched to his Excellency Sir John Cradock, the then governor of the colony, the letter dated 7th July, 1812.

[For the letter here referred to, see vol. i. p. 350.]

To this communication it is now uncertain whether the Missionary had the honour to receive a reply. But it was made known to him at Cape Town, in the year 1813, that the power the Landdrost had assumed had received the sanction of government. That this power has continued to be exercised, it may be well to show; and for this purpose the following copies of documents are subjoined. An application was made to the Landdrost by the Missionary, on behalf of a Hottentot named Magerman, as follows:—

Bethelsdorp, Feb. 21st, 1821.

Sir,—The bearer of this, most humbly requests permission to join this institution, and I hope you will grant his request.

I have, &c.

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

The Hottentot returned with the following, written on the blank side of his pass:—

Sir,—This Hottentot, named in the within pass, must find a master within three days, with whom he must come to the Landdrost to hire.

Feb. 21*st*, 1821. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

This Hottentot had his discharge with him, stating that he had *honestly* and *faithfully* served in the Cape regiment, from the 8th July, 1807, to the 24th September, 1817; and that his services being no longer required, he was honourably discharged.

The following was received from the Landdrost in reply to a similar request for permission for a Hottentot to join the institution.

Uitenhage, Feb. 23*d*, 1821.

Sir,—In reply to your letter of the 22d inst., I beg to refer you to a letter I wrote to Mr. Barker on the 7th November, 1820, respecting granting passes to Hottentots to join your institution.

I have, &c.

To Mr. Kitchingman. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

The correspondence preceding the communication referred to by the Landdrost in his letter to the Rev. J. Kitchingman, shall now be inserted; which shows a further reason given for refusing to permit persons to join the institution; wherein it would appear that this reason alleged, applied in the manner the correspondence seems to convey, is altogether invalid, and will, perhaps, be considered by your Excellency as affording an additional argument for the necessity of unrestrained freedom being granted to all Hottentots to enter the institution, if legally admissible.

Uitenhage, Oct. 12*th*, 1820.

Dear Sir,—You will do me a great favour if you can procure six or eight able men of your institution, to work for me two or three weeks, at my farm Dornkraal. I will pay them the same as those working at the government works here [two skillings, or four-halfpenny sterling, per day.] I could wish them as soon as possible.

I remain, &c.

To Mr. Barker. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

Copy of another letter from the Landdrost:—

Uitenhage, Oct. 19*th*, 1820.

Sir,—Two Hottentots appeared here this morning with your tickets, dated the 10th inst., Boatsman Cupido and Cobus Links, to hire to William Botha; the latter not answering to the name, I have returned him to you to get the tickets altered. I inquired of these two Hottentots, whether you had not asked them to hire with me, when they both answered you had not. I am much in want of a few men, and offer to pay more wages than these people hire for; I must, therefore, once more repeat my request in the same way I did before, with which I remain, &c.

To Mr. Barker. (Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

The following was sent to the Landdrost:—

Bethelsdorp, Nov. 6*th*, 1820.

Sir,—The bearer of this, Goliah Brander, has applied to [redacted]

permission to become a resident at this institution. I beg leave to submit this to your consideration.

I have, &c.

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) G. Barker.

It was the answer to this application of the Rev. Mr. Barker that Mr. Kitchingman was referred to; and it is here subjoined.

Uitenhage, Nov. 7th, 1820.

Sir,—You must excuse my giving any more Hottentots permission to join your institution before I find those you have already can be made more useful to the community.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Barker. (Signed) J. G. Cuyler.

From these documents it will appear, that the power to prevent Hottentots joining the institution still continues in exercise by the Landdrost of the district of Uitenhage; and the facts already adduced demonstrate that it has been exercised in an arbitrary manner. These facts are most respectfully submitted to the particular consideration of your Excellency. Since it is in the power of the Landdrost thus to separate the nearest relatives, your Excellency's interference is humbly solicited by those members of the institution who have relatives wishing to join them, as well as by other natives of that district, desirous of belonging to the institution, and legally qualified under the fourth article of the proclamation of Lord Caledon, of the 1st November, 1809, "That a Hottentot, at the expiration of the last day of his contract, is at liberty to leave his master, with his wife, &c., and that he may either enter into the service of another master, or act in any manner the laws of the colony admit of."

In requesting your Excellency's attention to the subject of passes, we beg to observe that the manner in which the power is exercised by the Landdrost, of obliging the missionary to provide the Hottentots at the institution of Bethelsdorp with passes, is productive of great inconvenience. That individuals, women as well as men, whose places of residence are well known, should, in order to be at liberty to proceed in open day to the principal market in the district, be required to furnish themselves with passes, and then wait for the counter signature of a Field-cornet or district-constable, before they can expend their scanty earning for a supply of their daily wants, is certainly a great hardship. The object of government with respect to passes has, it would appear from the preamble to the proclamation of the 1st November, 1809, long been fully obtained, at least so far as it regards the inhabitants of Bethelsdorp; for their abodes are, of course, fixed; therefore, why should this pre-

cautionary measure continue to inconvenience them, when all the free inhabitants are exempted? when it can be proved, to the credit and respectability of the Bethelsdorp institution, by referring to the records of the criminal court in the district of Uitenhage, that *but one* of the members of this institution has, at any time, been brought before the court of circuit, though in numbers they amount to one third of the population of the district. The extent of this grievance may be better known when it is stated, that the time now occupied by the Missionary in writing passes is often two hours in a day, and sometimes more; and this, added to the inconvenience suffered by the Hottentots, plainly evinces that this part of the statement is of no small importance.

From a consideration of this subject, it is hoped that your Excellency may see fit to grant the following relaxation in the present law and practice, viz.—

That it shall not be obligatory on the inhabitants of Bethelsdorp, engaged either in driving or loading waggons, to provide themselves with passes, when the owner's names are on the waggons.

And further, that they shall be at liberty to proceed to any place within the district of Uitenhage, like the other inhabitants, without passes, provided they are not absent from the institution more than one calendar month.

If, however, the total abolition of passes does not meet the approbation of your Excellency, it is requested that the Missionary be allowed to use printed forms, that he may be no longer exposed to the continual interruption and loss of time to which he is now subjected.

Before we close this article, we beg leave to call your Excellency's attention to another cause of complaint, viz. the corporal chastisement inflicted upon the Hottentots by their masters in the district of Uitenhage. As it respects corporal chastisement, so long as a distinction is made in the condition of the Hottentots, compared with other free labourers, they are deprived by it of character and the rights of freemen, for this is what no other class of the community of the colony are subjected to, excepting the slaves. There are now residing at the Drostdy of Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth, both places within a few miles of Bethelsdorp, several families of Mahomedans, who were formerly slaves, but have obtained their freedom, and these individuals, having entered into service, are not subject to the like degradation with the Hottentots of Bethelsdorp, who are, for the most part, baptized Christians. This is mentioned as a distinction, which it is believed exists in the colonial law, respecting baptized and unbaptized persons; and it would appear an anomaly in a British and Christian government, that the Mahomedans should possess greater privileges than the Christian subjects. To establish the fact of the personal punishment of the Hottentots, the following document, and some remarks connected with it, are submitted for your Excellency's perusal.

Uitenhage, November 3, 1821.

My dear Sir,—At your request I have examined the two Hottentots, Jan Geawint and Andries Schieman. They have been flogged on the naked breech, and the instrument by which the punishment has been inflicted, has cut through the cutis vera in both; on Jan Geawint, in about four places, and on the other in about a dozen places. On one, the punishment was inflicted 28th October, on the other, on the following day; and it is my opinion that three or four days must elapse before they can recover.

(Signed) T. ATHERSTONE,
Surgeon.

To the Rev. John Phillip, D. D.

Both the above-named Hottentots were members of the institution, and whether, as it regards the instruments with which they were punished or the number of stripes given, this chastisement may be correctly termed severe. The person in whose service these Hottentots were employed, was a Mr. Van Buuren, of Cradock's Town, about sixteen miles from the Drostdy of Uitenhage, and about four from Bethelsdorp.

The instance now adduced took place whilst Dr. Philip was at the institution, and at his desire a professional opinion was obtained. If these natives of South Africa are thus oppressed and deprived of their personal security in the neighbourhood of the Drostdy, and under the eye of the missionary, what may we suppose is the condition of those who are placed in more unfavourable circumstances? Under date the 1st February, 1822, the following letter was received by the missionary, J. Kitchingman, of Bethelsdorp.

Uitenhage, February 1, 1822.

Sir,—I have to call upon you to supply three able-bodied men, either Hottentots or Bastards, as your quota, to complete the Cape corps:—beg that you send me six of the above description over here on Monday the 4th February next, from which number I shall select the three required to join the corps.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

To the Rev. J. Kitchingman, *Bethelsdorp.*

The following Reply was returned.

Bethelsdorp, February 1, 1822.

Sir,—I have had the honour to receive your communication of to-day, requiring three men to serve in the Cape Corps. I beg to remind you that the last quota of men, for the Cape regiment, was twenty; that twenty-four were forwarded, and after that, two more; thus there were six too many. May I, therefore, humbly request that,

on that account, the institution may be exempted from furnishing the present quota at this time.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

To Colonel Cuyler, *&c.*

The following letter was received in answer to the above.

Uitenhage, February 2, 1822.

Sir,—In reply to your letter of yesterday on the subject of the recruits required for the Cape corps, I have to beg your compliance with my former letter—to send six over here on Monday next for my selection.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

To Rev. J. Kitchingman, *Bethelsdorp.*

Under date, February 5, the following letter was sent to the Landdrost.

Bethelsdorp, February 5, 1822.

Sir,—Yours of the second instant, I had the honour to receive; in compliance with which and your former order, the following six persons are forwarded, out of which the three required may be selected:—Jan Rait, W. Roffer, W. L. Body, Hermanus Rait, Jan Jochem, Platje Stoffles. You will excuse their not being forwarded yesterday, as I found it impossible to collect them before this morning.

I have, &c.

To Colonel Cuyler. (Signed) J. KITCHINGMAN.

The following letter was also received from the Landdrost, under date February 5, 1822.

Uitenhage, Feb. 5, 1822.

Sir,—Not having heard from you in reply to my letter of the 1st and 2nd present month, requiring you to send six able-bodied young Hottentots or bastards to me here on yesterday, from which I am to select three as soldiers to the Cape regiment, and as I am waiting to forward these men to join the regiment at Graham's Town, I have to call upon you to inform me of the cause of this delay.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

To Mr. Kitchingman, *Bethelsdorp.*

The six men referred to having been sent before the above came to hand, no reply was made. Under date, February 6, the following letter was received from the Landdrost.

Uitenhage, February 6, 1822.

Sir,—I have selected from the batch of recruits you sent me, Platje Stoffle, Jan Krait, and Jan Jochem, to join the Cape regiment; the rest are directed to return to you.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. G. CUYLER.

To the Rev. J. Kitchingman, *Bethelsdorp.*

In conclusion, we beg leave to state to your Excellency, that the number of persons from the Institution, commanded during the years 1820 and 1821, has been upwards of 120. Many of these individuals, it has been noticed, have not received any, and the remainder but a very insufficient remuneration. In the year 1819, seventy individuals were called away from the Institution for upwards of seven months for warfare, and received no compensation whatever. And from the last party, thirty men were detained by order of the Landdrost at Uitenhage, and there required to work by day and keep watch in the night. Yet, under this severe duty, they only received rations sufficient for themselves, their families, in the mean time, being left destitute of any means of support; and no pecuniary reward whatever was made them, though their labours must have been of considerable value. In stating this fact, it is considered unnecessary to adduce proof, because that the circumstance will be found in the proceedings of the Court of Circuit, in the charges of Mr. Huntley, merchant of Uitenhage, against the Landdrost of that district; as well as in the proceedings, if they are preserved on record, in a case wherein the Rev. G. Mol, minister of the district of Uitenhage, exhibited charges against the same magistrate. Several men were also commanded in 1819, as drivers and leaders of waggons, proceeding into Caffer land, and were there employed some time without any compensation; and able-bodied young men to the number of eighty-nine (from 1812 to 1819) have been drafted from the Institution for the Hottentot regiment.

It will not now be necessary to demonstrate further the truth of the assertion, that much of that discredit which is attached by many persons in a superficial view to the conductors and members of Bethelsdorp, on account of its apparent poverty and meanness, and whence, perhaps, occasion may be taken to represent it as unworthy of the support of government, is attributable, not to the want of industry in the members, nor to defects in the several heads of the Bethelsdorp Institution, but to the grievances here enumerated. And, further, to establish the claim of this oppressed people to the redress now respectfully solicited from your Excellency, we can assert, that not a single fact can be produced to prove, that the Hottentots of Bethelsdorp have not, at all times, conducted themselves towards Government, either in its head or subordinate

officers, with deference and submission; and the same may be said of those ministers who have been, at different times, placed at the head of that Institution.

We have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) JOHN PHILIP.
JAMES KITCHINGMAN.

[N. B. The whole of the preceding correspondence was submitted to His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, and after having been carefully collated with the originals, was acknowledged by them to be correct.]

Queries submitted to the Colonial Government, along with the preceding Correspondence.

IT having been deemed expedient that several queries should be drawn up, in order to elucidate, in the most complete manner, the subject matter of the statement of grievances preferred by the Hottentots of the Institution of Bethelsdorp, the following questions are now submitted as those which are considered sufficient to effect this purpose.

1st. How many of the inhabitants of the village of Uitenhage, whether English, Dutch, or free blacks, have been called upon by the Landdrost in the years 1820 and 1821, to furnish a quota of labour: First, for the making and repairing of the water-sluices? Secondly, for the making and repairing of the bridges and roads *in*, and immediately about, the village of Uitenhage?

2. Upon what principle, and for what reason is it that the inhabitants of the village of Bethelsdorp have been required by the Landdrost, in the years 1820 and 1821, to work at the water-sluices, and to repair the bridges and the roads *in the village* of Uitenhage, such works manifestly tending, mainly and almost solely, to the advantage of the inhabitants of the said village?*

3. How many of the inhabitants of the village of Port Elizabeth, at Algoa Bay, have been required by the Landdrost to furnish, in the years 1820 and 1821, a quota of labour for the repair of the roads in that village?

4. Upon what principle, and for what reason is it that the inhabitants of the village of Bethelsdorp have been required by the Landdrost, during the years 1820 and 1821, to repair the roads in the village of Port Elizabeth?†

* See letters from Landdrost, dated Feb. 12th, 1820, (p. 406,) Aug. 8th, 1820, (p. 409,) Dec. 4th, 1820, (p. 411,) Feb. 6th, and 15th, 1821, (p. 414,) March 27th, and May 10th, 1821, (pp. 416-17.)

† See letters, dated June 26th, 1820, (p. 407,) August 24th, 1820, (

5. What has been the quantity of labour furnished in the years 1820 and 1821 for the repairs of the road, by the persons whose farms, *equally with* the lands of Bethelsdorp, adjoin the high road leading from Uitenhage to Algoa Bay?

6. What proportion does that quantity bear to the quantity furnished by the inhabitants of Bethelsdorp;* and upon what grounds is it, that the Landdrost requires the people of Bethelsdorp to work on roads at *a distance* from their lands, receiving no remuneration? †

7. Upon what principle and for what reason is it, that the labouring inhabitants of the village of Bethelsdorp are not left free to find a market themselves for their labours; but are obliged to enter into the service of individuals under the order of the Landdrost, as in the case of drivers and leaders ordered, and (as in a late instance) of men provided for General Campbell? ‡

8. Upon what principle, and upon what grounds is it, that the landdrost has assumed the authority of dealing with the inhabitants of Bethelsdorp in a manner different from that in which the other inhabitants of the district (slaves excepted) are treated; as in the instance of obliging some to become post-riders, whether they will or no, others to be Caffer constables, &c.? §

9. Upon what principle is it that the landdrost compels the services of the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp; pays them at a stipulated rate, fixed by himself; makes no provision for their families; appoints no limited time of service; fixes no period for their payment? —and why is it that he obliges them to labour at what he calls government work, for two skillings (four-pence halfpenny) per day, a price fixed when provisions were not one-fifth of the price they now are, when they can earn four or five times, and, in some cases, ten times that sum, when allowed to find work for themselves? ‖

10. What objections are there to the discontinuance of these exactions for any services, except in cases of a call of men for the Cape regiment; in cases of warfare; and, in a due proportion with the other inhabitants, in cases where services are required for the repairs of roads? And why should not the inhabitants of Bethels-

* See letters dated March 10th, 1820, (p. 407.) † March 26th, 1821, (p. 415.)

‡ See letters dated March 28th, 1820, (p. 417,) April 30th, 1821, and Dec. 7th, 1820, (p. 424.)

§ See letters dated 8th February, 1821, (p. 419;) 10th May, and 3rd June, 1821, (p. 420.)—See cases of Piet Willem, and others, (pp. 420-422.)

‖ See every letter from the landdrost when commanding men for any service.

dorp be, equally with those of Groenekloof and Genadendal, only commanded for the above services, and none other?

11. Upon what principle is it, that the landdrost assumes the power of ordering individuals, though public servants, to work, as I myself have seen them, in his own private work, and yet pay them no more than government allowance, as in the case of Booy Platjes and other Hottentots working in his garden? *.

12. Upon what principle is it, that the landdrost of the district of Uitenhage has the power of prohibiting Hottentots who are British subjects, from fixing, agreeably to article 4th of the proclamation of 1809, their abode where they may find it most expedient (provided they infringe neither public nor private rights); as, for instance, amongst their relatives in Bethelsdorp, and in those places where they and their children may obtain instruction? †

13. Upon what principle is it that the landdrost exercises an authority over one portion of the free inhabitants, as in the case of the Hottentots, even to such an extent as to order them into the service, and oblige them to become, within a limited time, servants of other inhabitants, which power he cannot exercise in the case of Mahomedans and other free blacks? ‡

14. Why should not all Hottentots in the district of Uitenhage, who are not under contract, have perfect liberty to enter the institution at Bethelsdorp, exactly in the same manner as those in the respective districts of Swellendam and the Cape district have authority to enter the institutions at Genadendal and Groenekloof?

15. Upon what grounds is it that Colonel Cuyler has assumed that the non-compliance of Mr. Barker with his request to furnish *him* with labourers *for his farm*, is a proof that the inhabitants of Bethelsdorp are not useful to the *community*? § And how does the non-compliance with his request, by Mr. Barker, justify refusing permission to any more persons to enter the institution? ‖

16. What reason is there that the inhabitants of Bethelsdorp should, when proceeding in open day, even to the public market-

* Letter of missionary, Aug. 1, 1821, (p. 422;) with case of Booy Plaatjes, and others.

† See case of William Bruintjes, vol. i. p. 305.

‡ See case in letter dated February 21st, 1821, (p. 427,) with numerous others.

§ Letters from landdrost to Mr. Barker, dated October 12 and 19, and November 6, 1820, (p. 428.)

‖ November 7, 1820, (p. 429.)

place in the country, be obliged not only to carry a pass, but wait *for its counter-signature* by the field-cornet, whilst *no other* Hottentots of the colony, neither at Genadendal nor elsewhere, are subject to the latter regulation? *

17. What reason can there be that Hottentots at Bethelsdorp, possessing waggons, having their names on their waggons, should not, equally with the other inhabitants, whether English, Dutch, or free blacks, be at liberty to proceed with their waggons in the same manner as the other inhabitants, without the necessity of providing themselves with a pass? What objections are there that the Hottentots, fixed inhabitants of Bethelsdorp, should not at all times have equal liberty with the free blacks and other inhabitants, to proceed any where in the district without a pass, and why should they be laid under greater restrictions? †

18. What was the number of men drawn by Colonel Cuyler for the Cape regiment, from Bethelsdorp, in the years 1818, 19, 20, 21, and 22? And why are the numbers thus drawn from Bethelsdorp altogether disproportionate to the quota furnished by Genadendal and Witte Rivier?

No. XII.

Case of Cobus Pommer.

Perseverance, 24th Dec. 1822.

My dear Sir,—There has just now occurred a case about a Hottentot, which shows the great hardships to which these poor people are so unjustly exposed.

A Hottentot, called Cobus Pommer, has been five or six years in the service of my brother-in-law. During all this time he has behaved so well, that for the last couple of years he has had the sole superintendence over the place and cattle of his master.

About a month ago, a farmer living in the neighbourhood, stated to the landdrost, that he had heard from a Hottentot that Cobus Pommer had killed and consumed several head of cattle belonging to this farmer. On this loose saying, the landdrost sent the field-cornet and some inhabitants to bring Cobus Pommer and the other Hottentots on the place, to the Trunk (the prison) at Uitenhage. Accordingly a party of well-armed boors went there, had these poor people tied with cords, and drove them before their horses to the Trunk. As there was not any thing against the other Hottentots, not even their names mentioned, they were discharged, but poor Cobus was confined in one of the cells of the prison. My brother-in-law being absent in Cape Town, I

* Letter of Colonel Cuyler. † See letter of Colonel Cuyler.

rode to Uitenhage, and heard that the pretended original informer had not yet been forthcoming. I must observe here that the secretary, Mr. Staedel, who, according to the laws of the colony, had to act as prosecutor, used every exertion to bring the case to a speedy termination; but as the pretended evidences of the accuser were not to be found, much delay took place, and Cobus remained longer than a fortnight in prison. His accuser as well as the evidences against him still not coming forward, Mr. Staedel was kind enough to receive the evidences in favour of Cobus, tending to refute the (so falsely and falsely stated) accusation, and to order his release, on my becoming bail for him to appear, if some points of accusation should be substantiated. I called at the prison for Cobus, when a hollow-eyed, tottering shadow appeared. Much affected by such a sight, I asked, "Where did they keep you, Cobus?" With a tremulous voice, interrupted by coughing, he answered, "In the *same cell*, Sir, where lately the *two Hottentots died in succession*, and I never expected to leave it alive." I need not tell you that my blood boiled. Seeing the district surgeon at his door, I vented part of my indignation, but he took it very coolly, and contented himself with saying, "Hottentots were subject to complaints in the chest, and he could not prevent people from dying." He replied, "I did believe so, but did also know that their death might be accelerated, and they, in fact, murdered." I then went to the apothecary, who found the Hottentot suffering under an inflammation in the chest, and gave several medicines, which have proved effectual, as poor Cobus is getting better.

Of the horrors of the Uitenhage Trunk, and the sufferings of the unfortunate Hottentot prisoners, it is impossible to form any idea; and under the present system, no alteration or proper investigation can be expected. By mere accident I have heard of cruelty which could scarcely have been surpassed, and I have reason to give full credit to those statements.

Believe me, my dear Sir, if there was the least chance of bringing to light such dark and horrible deeds, I would use every exertion; but I repeat, as long as the present system continues, nothing is to be hoped for.

Dr. Atherstone, who acted for some time as district surgeon, being an upright, conscientious man, once remonstrated about the prison in an official letter to Colonel Cuyler, and from that moment his hopes in the district were blasted; he lost the expected situation, and the inhabitants a clever professional gentleman.

It requires few comments on the above case. It is true that most of the prisoners have reason to complain of the Uitenhage Trunk. But in a case similar to this, no other person would have suffered so much as a poor Hottentot. A white man, according to the laws of the colony, could not have been imprisoned without an inquiry, by which his innocence would have been proved. A slave,

in nine cases out of ten, would not have been accused at all, but the complaining farmer would have compromised with the master of the slave; or if he had been imprisoned, he would have been placed in another cell, and better care taken, as the master of the slave might have resented his loss, if the slave had died. But a Hottentot, according to the laws here, is always considered "suspectus de fuga," and, therefore, *first imprisoned*, and then inquiry entered into, whether he deserves to be treated so, or not; and in the instance of Cobus Pommer, a few days more would have killed an innocent man, who luckily escaped that fate, by the more humane conduct of Mr. Staedel.

I intent to go to Cape Town in a short time, when I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you, and shall be able to communicate to you several facts, which I do not like to trust to paper.

I have the honour to remain with much esteem,

Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) W. L. von BUCHENRODER.

To the Rev. Dr. Philip.

No. XIII.

Oppression of Hottentots in Albany.

Generally speaking, the love our countrymen bear to liberty seldom rises higher than a mere passion for their own individual rights, and it is to the resistance to oppression arising out of this passion, that England is indebted for the preservation of its liberties. With these views of human nature, what I have to relate of our countrymen abroad will not excite surprise at home; for, it is obvious, that it does not follow, that they who are jealous of their own rights at home should necessarily become tender of the rights of others when it is their interest to oppress them.

On the first arrival of the English settlers at Algoa Bay in 1820, they were perfectly indignant against the old colonists, for their treatment of the Hottentots; but, it soon began to be discovered, that avarice and the lust of domination are principles belonging to our common nature, and not peculiar to any one class of people. In every situation in which you can place men, they will trample upon each other, if they can do it with impunity; and it is painful to be obliged to state, that the Hottentots in South Africa have, in general, a greater dread of the English, than they have of their old oppressors, the boors. Having one day asked a Hottentot the reason of that circumstance, he replied, by comparing the Dutch colonists to the buffalo, which is dangerous to those who come in its way, and the English to the lion, who joins cunning to his ferocity, and from whom there is no escaping.

On my arrival in Albany, in the year 1823, I found the district full of complaints against the Missionary station at Theopolis. The Missionaries were charged with keeping back the Hottentots from entering into the service of the settlers, and I had scarcely arrived at the institution, when I was assailed with numerous applications for Hottentots. On inquiry, I soon found that the complaints urged against the Missionaries were totally groundless. Mrs. General Campbell, Thomas Philipps, Esq., and others, in the neighbourhood of the institution, who treated their Hottentots well, made no complaints; but many settlers had got into the worst part of the old colonial system; and, on making personal application to some of the Hottentots, to oblige those who had applied to me, I was presented with lists of grievances, which left me nothing further to say. Of the nature of those grievances, the following may serve as examples, and I am sorry to add that they are by no means extreme cases.

Abraham Klasse was engaged in the service of Mr. Biggar, an English settler in Albany, who agreed to give him six rix-dollars per month.

He remained in Mr. B.'s service six months and eighteen days; when he asked for the wages due to him, having only received twelve rix-dollars and six skillings. He, at the same time, expressed a wish to leave him, when Mr. B. said, "If you want to go away, you must pay me for the things you have lost, whilst in my service."

Abraham Klasse answered, that he had not lost the things, but they were broken, or worn out in the employ of Mr. Biggar. Mr. B., however, insisted on his either making a fresh contract, or paying him back the twelve rix-dollars and six skillings, asserting that the things that he had lost or broken just amounted to the sum he would have to receive for his half year's wages.—See Mr. B.'s letter to Mr. Wright, and Abraham Klasse's explanation of the items therein charged.

Abraham Klasse, finding that Mr. Biggar was determined to send him to the prison if he persisted in leaving him, went to Theopolis, which is about seven miles distant, and made his complaint to Mr. Wright, who then had the management of the temporal concerns of that station. This circumstance gave rise to a communication from Mr. Wright to Mr. Biggar, to which the following letter, containing an account against Abraham Klasse, was sent in reply:

Woodlands, December 8, 1823.

Mr. Wright,—I have made out the account of Abraham for you to see how he stands with me. He informs me that the bullock died at Mr. Daniel's place. I asked that gentleman about it, who says it is not the case, or he should have known of it. Abraham

must either pay me for it or engage another half year, and pay me the balance against him; otherwise, I shall have him apprehended and put in the Tronk.

I am, Sir, &c.
(Signed) ALEXANDER BIGGAR.

	Rix-ds.		
Cash	5	6	0
Ditto	5	0	0
Ditto	2	0	0
Five riems	2	4	0
One lighter foot, (for lifting the waggon, to tar the axles)	4	0	0
One muid meal	23	0	0
One whip	1	4	0
Two half waggon chains	5	0	0
	48	6	0
Half-a-year's wages	36	0	0
Due to Mr. Biggar	12	6	0

December 8, 1823.
One bullock to be accounted for at thirty rix-dollars.

As a further illustration of this subject, we add the following account in which Daniel Witboy is charged, by Mr. Biggar, for articles lost and worn out in his service. When Witboy expressed his determination to leave Mr. Biggar, and called for a settlement, instead of having any money to receive at the expiration of his service, Mr. B. presents him an account which makes him Dr. rix-dollars 90 2 0.

	Rix-ds.		
To half a pound tea	2	0	0
Cash, at Graham's Town	6	0	0
Tronk (or prison) fees	2	0	0
Quarter pound tea	1	0	0
Cash, at Graham's Town	1	0	0
Paid for a driver at ditto	3	0	0
Tea	1	0	0
Tronk (or prison) fees	1	0	0
One pair trowsers	6	0	0
Half a pound tea	2	0	0
Three skins	5	2	0
Two handkerchiefs	3	0	0
One shirt	3	4	0
Four ells and a half blue cloth	8	0	0
Two ditto cotton	1	4	0
One hat	6	0	0
To quarter of a pound tea	1	0	0
Tinder box	1	4	0
Cash at Graham's Town	1	0	0
Ditto from Revett	3	0	0
Carried over	58	6	0

	Rix-ds.		
Brought over	58	6	0
Pound fees at Graham's Town	26	0	0
Cash paid Surgeon Mc Laren	15.	0	0
Articles lost between Bathurst and Graham's Town, viz., twenty-eight new riems (or thongs)	14	0	0
One tar-bucket	3	0	0
Two mats for a waggon	2	0	0
Twenty-eight new neck straps	3	4	0
One goat skin	1	0	0
Three new riem shoes	3	0	0
Two whips	4	0	0
Eight sheep lost	32	0	0
Total	162	2	0
Deduct twelve months' wages at six rix-dollars per month	72	0	0
Due to Mr. Biggar	90	2	0

A complaint having been made to myself when at Theopolis, in 1823, that Mr. Biggar was at a great loss for servants, and that the Hottentots at Theopolis would not enter into any more engagements with him, I considered it my duty to lay the grounds of my objection before Mr. Biggar. On presenting him with his letter dated December 8, 1823, with the inclosed account, in his own hand-writing, and asking him, at the same time, how he could ever think of acting as judge and executioner in his own case, he candidly acknowledged to me that the Hottentot Klasse had threatened to leave him, and that he had made out that account against him to oblige him to remain in his service.

From the impression which appeared to have been made on Mr. Biggar's mind by the representations made to him on this occasion, I flattered myself, that a regard to his own interest would prevent such an occurrence taking place in future. In this opinion, however, I am sorry to say, I have been deceived. By the account of Witboy, we find the poor Hottentot charged with pound fees, at Graham's town, twenty-six rix-dollars; with prison expenses, at two different incarcerations, three rix-dollars; with tear and wear of Mr. Biggar's waggon, the loss of riems and tar-bucket, whips, &c., twenty-six rix-dollars; and for the loss of eight sheep, thirty-two rix-dollars. By the repeated representations of the missionary at Theopolis, deductions were made from these surcharges; but after all these deductions, Witboy was still made debtor at the end of the year, to Mr. Biggar, twenty rix-dollars and six skillings.

Had it not been for the interference of the Missionary, in this case, there is no reason to suppose these deductions would have been made; and to relieve the Hottentot from this hopeless servitude, it was necessary that the missionary should become security for the payment of that sum, which was discharged on the 8th May, 1824, two months after date.

No. XIV..

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Roger Edwards, Missionary-Artisan, dated Theopolis, May 5th, 1826.

A Hottentot lately applied to me for permission to reside at this institution. According to custom, I sent him to the landdrost for his sanction. Permission was not given.—The young man was placed under contract to Mr. Biggar, who knew nothing of the affair, till the man arrived at his house, with a copy of the contract. Mr. B. has since acknowledged to me, that he had requested both the landdrost and the secretary to procure a Hottentot for him, as soon as an opportunity should favour his wish. John, the young man, was thus placed under contract. Major Dundas wrote to me stating, that as the man was young, and had no parents at the place, nor property, and was able to support himself under contract, he could not be allowed to join the institution; but would be hired by contract to Mr. Biggar, who, he presumed, would have no objection to take him into his service; it being, moreover, useless to fill our books with the names of individuals who could not forward the legitimate object of the society *.

The following week, when at Graham's Town with the opgaaf, (or taxes,) the Major took the advantage of my being there, to converse with me on the subject. He admitted that the Hottentots were a free people; but that as discretionary power was given to him, he would act according to circumstances, and to his own judgment. I replied, that I would adhere to the letter of the law; that it was not possible for me to act otherwise than to appeal for redress.

I found, from the conversation, that he did not like my letter, sent in reply to his. In that letter I referred him to the proclamation of 1809, wherein it was expressly stated, that all and every Hottentot has a right to choose both his own master and the place of his abode. At the close of my letter, I begged of him to take the case of the young man again into his consideration, and administer to him those rights which the laws of the colony secure to him as a free inhabitant of the same.

The above case I shall forward to the Commissioners of Inquiry; but, as Mr. Foster is expected here in a few days, I deem it proper to wait till then, in order to advise with him what steps must be taken, to put a stop, if possible, to the Major's arbitrary proceedings.

* The reasons assigned by Major Dundas, for his arbitrary proceeding in this case, that the man was young, that he had no parents, nor property, were the very reasons which should have induced him to permit him to join a missionary institution, where he would have found parents and instructors, in the missionaries; who would have imbued his mind with good principles, and where he would have had the opportunity of disposing of his services to far better advantage than he could in the service of Mr. Biggar.

No. XV.

Letter from Dr. Vanderkemp to Governor Janssens.—(Vide vol. i. p. 104.)

Bethelsdorp, April 19th, 1805.

Governor,—Your much-respected despatch of the 28th February, containing an answer to the last I wrote to Mr. Paravicini de Capelli, is come to hand. This answer contains an apology for keeping the Hottentot soldiers in service longer than the time of their engagement, on account of the continuance of the war. If you, who owe me no such apology, had found it proper, in a tone of authority (to which the high post you fill gives a full right) to let me understand your determination, I should have judged myself bound to acquiesce respectfully in your decision; but since you vouchsafe to enter into a discussion with me on the reasons which influenced you to the above-mentioned step, not in a style such as the ruler of an important colony might employ to a wandering stranger, but as a friend is accustomed to write to his friend, this condescension gives me the freedom to answer you on the same footing, where, nevertheless, I hope not to lose sight of the distance there is between you and myself.

The only argument, Governor, by which you maintain the propriety of continuing the Hottentots in service, is drawn from the law which forbids giving passports in time of war. If there is such a law, it speaks for itself, that it ought to be executed and respected. But I must here confess my ignorance, who know not if ever such a law has been promulgated in this colony, or for the Batavian Republic either. Till the beginning of the last war with the French, there was a law in the Netherlands, which deferred giving passports to a regiment gone forth to the field, till it should have entered winter quarters, which was expressed in the regimental orders of the soldiers. I know further, that a resolution was taken by the late Council of the States, to grant the troops no passports during the above-mentioned war. Yet, if there indeed exists such a law for this colony, which I will not bring into doubt, then is the perfidy with which the Hottentots are treated so much the more unanswerable, and the conduct of Captain Alberti, who, contrary to the law, and not before, but during the war, engaged them but for a year, inconsistent with his honourable character.

You describe the military service as preferable for the Hottentots, to the state wherein they formerly subsisted; and I must declare, that no condition appears more agreeable to me than the military, so that I myself, if I was not a missionary, and my years allowed it, should, without doubt, devote myself to the military service. The same inclination and affection had place, in the commencement of your government, among the Hottentots, and nothing was easier

than permanently to secure their affection, whereunto nothing else was necessary than to cause justice to be executed for them, against their oppressors and murderers; and I doubt not they would have then taken up arms with zeal for the defence of the land, provided their corps and service had been regulated, not according to the European manner, but agreeably to the custom of their own country, and they had been placed under officers of their own nation. But the contrary having taken place, and oppressions increasing more and more, free people (undoubtedly without your knowledge, and contrary to your intention) being dragged by force into the service, whilst their wives and children wander helpless about, is it then to be wondered at that the judgment and choice of the Hottentots herein differ much from your own, and that I find myself necessitated to put an end to my fruitless representations of the duty and agreeableness of the country's service to them.

You acknowledge the great wrong that the colonists, *perhaps here and there*, do to the Hottentots. This expression, Governor, shews that you are still uninformed of the true situation of things in this country, or at least in the Uitenhage district. Not *perhaps*, and *here and there*, but very certainly, and pretty nearly in all parts, does this oppression prevail; nor is it only particular inhabitants, but the landdrosts themselves, from whom the oppressed ought to find protection, who make themselves guilty in this respect. It causes me no little sorrow, to be obliged herein to name Mr. Alberti, for whom I had, till now, cherished an unfeigned respect; but I am necessitated to do so by the impossibility of obtaining justice for the people of this institution in any other way. The landdrost, Alberti, has thought it fit to oblige Hottentots who were free, and settled here with their wives and children, to hire themselves to the inhabitants, and with the violence of corporal punishment, by armed inhabitants, to take away out of their houses at Bethelsdorp others who had declared themselves not inclined to devote themselves to the military service. Hottentots, who (according to your own words) *are free born, and on the ground which originally belonged to them, should be able to find freedom, security, and the means of subsistence!* This freedom violated in both instances, I reclaim with that confidence which your own hand writing gives me, for those who, without your interference, are in danger of losing it, and whose complaints can in no other way reach your ears. Of other wrongs and cruelties (the account of which, in case I might bring to light a history of my time, would fill a middling book) I will not here speak.

I readily acknowledge the duty which I lie under, as their teacher, as much as possible to bind the Hottentots to the government of the land. All the reciprocal duties between rulers and subjects are grounded in religion, and the disowning and neglect-

ing this truth, is just what makes our befooled mother country unhappy. It is one part of a Christian subject's duty, in subordination to God, and in all that is not contrary to his command, to obey and love the government. Christ having brought me into these parts of the world, to promote this religion among the heathen, I hope in the enforcing of this duty (which none but a true Christian can exercise, and this still but very feebly) I have not been wanting. My endeavours to prevent desertion (which I foresaw) are to be ascribed to this desire, and it is in a great measure owing to those of my worthy colleague, Read, that already several of the Bethelsdorp Hottentots, on the example of others, have not joined themselves with the run-away deserters; and I trust the little number of those among us who are entitled to the name of Christians, will not make themselves guilty herein, whatever the rest may attempt. With all this, no one, possessing a sound understanding, and who is acquainted with the human heart, can expect among the Hottentots, who are yet deaf to the voice of the gospel, that there should be brought about, by the persuasion of missionaries alone, an attachment to the welfare of the government, so long as these Hottentots are deprived of the privileges of citizens, which the colonists enjoy; particularly while the government of the country, by treating them worse than Pharaoh did the children of Israel in Egypt, appears to set every thing to work which can serve to break this attachment.

The apprehensions which you testify, as if the residence of teachers, who are subjects to the hostile power, or consider themselves bound to it by duty, tended in any way to alienate the minds of the Hottentots from the present government, I hope to cause to disappear, when I assure you, that neither my colleague Read, nor I, bring into consideration our relation to the respective lands of our birth, in considering our obedience to the government of the country in which we live; and we reckon ourselves neither more nor less bound thereto, than if he was no Englishman, and I no Netherlander. So long as the government of the Cape remains our local government, this duty continues; or ceases, when the government's relation ceases, although the remembrance of favours enjoyed should not cease.

Our relationship to the London Society (which is entirely of a spiritual nature, and knows nothing of national interests, and therefore, has given over its direction to that of the Netherlands) attaches us no more to the hostile power, than is the case with a great number of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, who are members of learned and other societies in Great Britain, without being in the least attached to the national interests of that country.

To give you a more explicit idea of the intimate ties, by which we consider ourselves united to the government of the country, I shall only observe, that when our enemies become our rulers, or our

rulers our enemies, we will never oppose them with any other weapons than those with which Christ has provided us, namely, love and conscientious obedience; and hereby we despair not to conquer them.

Undisguisedly, Sir, I have presented to you some facts, and thereby expressed my true feelings, in regard to which, I conceive, you cannot be indifferent. If you pay any regard to my requests, and cause the Hottentots to have justice done them, then shall you, who have yourself declared that without justice it cannot go well with any people, bind that nation to the interests of government, and you shall enjoy the happiness to have no other enemies in this country than villains. God will bless you, and you may expect success in your government; but if, on the contrary, you can determine to acquiesce in the misdeeds, and the unreasonable requests of open offenders, to enjoy their short-lived acclamations, to oppress the guiltless to please them, and to enfeeble justice, then shall the cry to heaven of the oppressed—of the parents, children, and consorts torn asunder, bring, as a consequence, their deliverance, and therewith the frustration of your plans.

If the frankness with which I have expressed myself, and which flows from deeply reflecting on my duty, should displease you, I hope in future to use more reserve. I am not so inconsiderate as to desire to give you the trouble to answer all the points touched upon. It is sufficient for me to have submitted them to your consideration, praying God to give you the necessary wisdom and courageousness to take the most salutary measures to ward off the disorders which are at the door. I have the honour, with due respect, and very sincere regard, to subscribe myself,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) J. T. VANDERKEMP.

No. XVI.

Letter from the Missionary Conference at Graaff-Reinet, to the Colonial Secretary.—(Vide vol. ii. p. 61.)

Graaff-Reinet, August 25th, 1814.

Sir,—For several years the Directors of the London Missionary Society have been urgent that their respective missionaries in South Africa should have an annual conference with each other, (at least a missionary from each station,) to consider upon the best measures to promote the interests of those missions already established, and to propose and adopt others, under the approbation of government, for the advancement of religion in general in this part of the world.

The Rev. John Campbell, who was sent here in 1812, as deputy of the above society, proposed again, and brought to a resolution, the longed-for conference.

Graaff-Reinet was considered the most central place for the purpose, and the first week of August the best time of the year. Accordingly we met here last week, and commenced our business; and the Rev. Mr. Kicherer was so kind as to offer his personal attendance and his counsels,—a purpose for which his long residence in the colony, and the active share he has taken in the propagation of religion, render him so capable.

Among other things of importance brought forward, Mr. Anderson (from Griqua Town, formerly Klaarwater) laid before the conference two letters he had received from government, one dated January 3d, 1814, and one the 27th of May, containing a requisition of twenty men from his settlement, for the Cape regiment, and the consequences government had been pleased to determine upon, these men not being furnished.

The business appeared to us of the utmost importance on both sides. In the first place, it is the wish of the Missionary Society, that their missionaries should always endeavour to meet the wishes of that government under which they prosecute their labours, and from which they receive any protection or support, whenever this can be done consistently with their character as missionaries, and without endangering their work in general. The matter was then to examine, whether Mr. Anderson had acted according to the above principle, and the interest of the missionary cause, beyond the limits of the colony; and having done this, we could not say but that he had done every thing short of using compulsion, which we conceive to be all that can be expected from missionaries, especially those beyond the colony: more would endanger their success, yea, endanger their lives.

We hope His Excellency the Governor will not take it amiss, when we submit a few observations, in the way of pleading for the cause of Mr. Anderson, and the Missionary Society. His Excellency will please to observe, that the greater part of those people, from whom the men required must be taken, are descendants, by the mother-side, from Hottentots, who have always retreated from the Europeans, till they came to the Orange river, where they settled. When the missionaries came there, they were suspected as having been sent out by government to ensnare them, and a plan was formed to take away their lives, which Providence, however, frustrated, and they gained the confidence of a few individuals. Although the missionaries have been on the Orange River some years, yet the mission at Griqua Town, must be considered as still in an infant state, for the missionaries had not influence enough to prevail upon the people to settle themselves permanently, till of late, they having been long accustomed to a wandering life. To the grief of the missionaries, this propensity prevails too much still; and the above-mentioned prejudices are not yet nearly conquered, and any compulsive measures on the part of the missionaries could

but serve to do infinite injury both to their characters and cause.

His Excellency will likewise please to observe, that this Mission is the only one beyond the borders, to the north of the colony, that it is surrounded by Bushmen, Corannas, Bechuanas, and Namaquas, with whom the people of Griqua Town have a close connection. These other tribes have, till very lately, shewn themselves very unfriendly to Christianity, insomuch, that the missionaries have to attribute the safety of their lives to the few confidential people with them; and the proposed plan might, as we conceive, render their situation most dangerous, and at once occasion a stagnation to their extensive usefulness, and darken all their prospects.

The connexion between the Becuhanas and Griquas, the people of Mr. Anderson, will appear from the following circumstance. A report had been spread, that some of Mr. Anderson's people had been ill-treated in the colony in 1812, and on Mr. Campbell's arrival at Lattakoo, this was one of the first things that was inquired after, adding, that strangers travelling through their country, had ever been treated by them with the utmost kindness.

His Excellency, will, therefore, easily conceive the critical situation of those two solitary missionaries, and what might be the fatal consequences of any compulsory measures on their side; and even a passive compliance would make them to be suspected by the other tribes; but this they would venture, and have already acted more than in a passive way. His Excellency will likewise be pleased to observe, that their situation is by no means safe, with respect to Caffers, who find their way continually through or round the colony, and who commit sometimes the greatest cruelties on the Corannas and Bechuanas, in which they have been joined by many Bushmen; and had it not been for the few armed men with Mr. Anderson, they probably would have fallen a sacrifice to these savages, as they more than once attacked them; they have, therefore, constantly to be upon their watch. We hope, that these arguments will have some weight with his Excellency; and prevail in the behalf of that distant mission.

We will allow, that Mr. Anderson has received some favours from government; his people have passed, generally unmolested, backwards and forwards to Cape Town to traffic; and if government does not conceive the attention paid to the different commissions sent by government to that part of the world, (with the last of which, Doctor Cowan's party, two of their very best men sacrificed their lives) as an equivalent for these favours, we would submit to His Excellency the propriety of levying a contribution, in which the missionaries and the most enlightened people with them would take a share; and we are confident that the Missionary Society would not be backward to subscribe their share, for any favour bestowed by government on their missionaries, rather than that the lives of their missionaries should be endangered.

Mr. Anderson expects to be in Cape Town in a few weeks, when he will be able to give His Excellency any further information required upon the subject. Praying that every blessing may attend His Excellency's person and government, and confiding in his support towards the spreading of Christianity in this benighted country,

We have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) J. READ.
J. KICHERER.
J. G. ULBRICHT.
W. ANDERSON.
E. SMITH.
W. F. CORNER.

C. Bird, Esq.
Deputy Colonial Secretary.

No. XVII.

Letter to the Author from the Rev. John Campbell, (inclosing part of the MS. of these volumes.)

My dear Sir,—I believe the inclosed papers give a very just view of the oppressions of the Hottentots—that they are not treated like men and women, but like brutes. In regard to the little that I said, (compared to what I could have said) upon that subject in my first journal, you remember the feelings of the colonists, when we were travelling to and from Bethelsdorp in 1819. I think the case of the Hottentots is such, that any apprehension of hostility on this account, should you return to Africa, should not deter you from making public *the whole case*, without reserve. I had instances of the cruelty of the colonists, in their punishment of both male and female Hottentots in their service, that would have shocked the feelings of civilized people in such a country as this. But at the time I published, there was no known intention of making a new code of laws for the Cape, wherefore, I thought it prudent, for the sake of our missions, not to publish *all* I knew. But now the case is different. Let the truth, therefore, be told. There is now a kindly feeling among all ranks in England, towards the oppressed of the coloured tribes. Persevere: missions are designed to relieve the oppressed. I am just leaving town for a fortnight, and I was afraid lest papers so important as the inclosed, should be out of their proper place—wherefore, I wish you to have them.

I am yours, &c.

Kingsland, Thursday. (1817.) (Signed) J. CAMPBELL.

THE END.

London: W. CLOWES, Stamford-street.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

View of Bethelsdorp to front title, Vol. I.
Map to front title, Vol. II.
Plan of Theopolis to front page 401, Vol. II.

ERRATA.

Vol I. p. 65, at bottom, for "Missionary Register," read "Missionary Transactions."
Do. p. 111, at bottom, instead of reference printed, read "Missionary Transactions, Vol. iii. p. 150."

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